

JPRS 80663

26 April 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2003



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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SOVIETS ON FATE OF POLISH EMIGRE IN BRITAIN

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 9, 3 Mar 82 p 14

[Article by Vladimir Simonov: "The Fate of a Polish Immigrant"]

[Text] Beep-beep-beep! These are the sounds you hear when a call is made from a London telephone booth:

--Is this the Soviet correspondent's office? Are you Soviet, or have I made a mistake?

The speech is rapid and inconsistent. It is clear that it is not an Englishman speaking.

--How can I help you?

--Help me! I beg you, let us meet. It is so important for me! I am at a dead end. There is nothing left for me but to hang myself from the fence of Buckingham Palace. . . .

Who does not call a correspondent! There is a lot of grief in Britain these days. A kind of deluge of despair. And in it, like the last straw, is the telephone book. Is it really a suicide candidate again? There have been calls from them.

--Excuse me, but perhaps it would be better for you to contact the Samaritans? There is this "telephone of hope," do you know?

The voice in the receiver is like a moan:

--What have the Samaritans to do with it! I have only one hope now--publicity! Nobody in this country cares about my pain. I am not an Englishman, you know. . . .

--Who are you?

--A Pole. A Polish citizen. . . .

We met on a street which in London is said to be the street of "millionaires." It was simply on the way for both him and for me. The crests of the oak trees

come together here like enormous oval frames. Set in them are the palaces of the royal family, the mansions of the aristocracy, and diplomatic missions. Black "Mercedes" slip by with funereal solemnity. From their glass enclosed booths policeman drill through you with a suspicious look. The heavenly oak bower is two miles long. My companion in his poor worn-out coat and his briefcase tied with rope seems out of place and absurd in this satiated little world. Limping on one foot, he was bent into a hump as if he was carrying all of these winding iron fences together with the gates which opened by means of photo elements.

After greeting one another, we walked along in silence for several minutes. I did not hurry him. And it was as if he was waiting until we came out onto the much more talkative, smoky Kensington High Street. Then he undid his briefcase:

--Have a look, will it help or not? A human being's fate, will it interest them or not?

Printed letters ran along the sheet of paper:

"Letter to the European Human Rights Conference in Madrid, Spain."

The address was a bit inexact. This was the Madrid meeting of the participants of the All-European conference. But, in general, it was clear where Yezhi Kokot was sending his appeal. That is his name. He is from Manchester. Here, in the right-hand corner of the letter, as is the rule here, is his address: "8 Sale Road, Northenden, Manchester, 23, England." But is this a letter? It is a broken, desperate scream: "Help me!!" The periods and the commas are like the S.O.S. in Morse.

"Dear Delegates.

I would like to put my case before the conference's consideration as one which will not endure postponement. Only because I am a Polish citizen and a true Christian I cannot get . . . justice in England where only the subjects of the Monarch are regarded as citizens of the first sort. . . . I ask the delegates. . . ."

I understood what Yezhi Kokot was asking the conference in Madrid about only later, at my office. For a long time my guest hesitated, and did not want to take off his coat, apparently, ashamed of his dilapidated clothing. Then finally he made himself comfortable in an armchair, hugging his briefcase.

His discharge papers. 1946. After having seen duty by the will of fate in the Polish Corps of the Eighth British Army, Kokot sought an occupation for himself in England. He had a Polish passport, and he would not change it for any other. Then why in England? "There was a need for qualified engineers in Poland. Well, I thought: I would learn a specialty here, abroad, and then--home. . . ."

Kokot did study something here. But not engineering. He studied the subject which is called capitalism.

In work on a turning mill a very important thing is the emulsion. The greasy poisonous liquid splashes onto the part that is being worked, helping the cutter. It also splashes onto the worker's hands. In any case, this was the kind of "safety" that existed during those years at the very large machine building company "David Brown Industries, Ltd." Misfortune struck in 1961. Kokot, as he says, "poisoned my hands," and earned industrial dermatitis. The doctor said: Change your occupation. That is easy to say--change! For what. You cannot exchange the machine tool. The boss snapped: "There are no more jobs. If you do not like lathing on a rotary--get lost." On account of the dermatitis it was torture for Yezhi to put on protective gloves. He continued to work with the shavings as before, with bare hands. Then another ailment came on top of the dermatitis--"metal disease."

On 17 July 1962, at the age of 39, Yezhi Kokot became disabled and from that time was unable to find an occupation for himself not in the cities nor in the dales and hamlets of this United Kingdom concerned with human rights.

And he was unable to leave for any other place now. In Manchester he had gotten himself a family. His wife, a quiet, ferociously devout Englishwoman, did not leave the house--a severe case of rheumatism. Thank God, he did not have to concern himself about the health of his daughter, Angela, and his son Karl. But feed the children?!

The "David Brown" Company seemingly accepted the responsibility for the disability. Now it was a matter of the amount of the financial compensation. When Yezhi was working, three types of different insurance had been milked from him. National insurance, the company insurance, and also some other kind. But today, during his dark days, no one wanted to pay him for the loss of his profession and for his ruined life. The giant of the much-praised British social security very calmly turned his back upon yet another unemployed lilliput.

It was then that Yezhi Kokot's court claim No. 1969 K 7739 against "David Brown Industries, Ltd." arose.

He clutches his glass of hot tea with both hands and, excited, burning himself, he tells me how the truth is ground to dust in the mill of local justice:

--At the first hearing the judge said: "Your case can be decided in 10 days. Do you have a lawyer?" I did not, of course, have a lawyer. A lawyer was beyond my means. The judge immediately understood where the money was. "Then," he continued, looking in the direction of the defendant, his words heavy with meaning, "then, do not drag out the case, or it will have to be denied altogether." Only afterwards it was explained to me that this was a direct hint to the defendant. Drag it out, he was saying, and the Pole's whole situation will collapse.

Where Yezhi got the energy from at that time, he is unable to explain today. But he kept going, wandering after an escaping shadow of hope. And what if suddenly after this solicitation something would begin to move. . . . Suddenly after this one. . . . The ball bearings of court procedure rolled on quietly, smoothly, tuned

by the centuries. All of the time there was the illusion of some kind of movement, of society's involvement in your fate. But as a result--zero! In the end, Kokot was received by Mr. Spicer himself, the political advisor to the chairman of the Supreme Court of Appeals Lord Denning. The secretary instructed him that the questions of the high personage had to be answered by either "yes" or "no." Yezhi was taken into an office and seated at a respectful distance. The great man was reading a newspaper. Five minutes passed. Mr. Spicer tore himself away from his study of the pages of a television program and uttered:

--Are you a Pole?

--Yes,--Kokot replied.

And that was all. With that the audience ended. That was the only question. Yezhi is convinced that his nationality predetermined the case: the claim was refused.

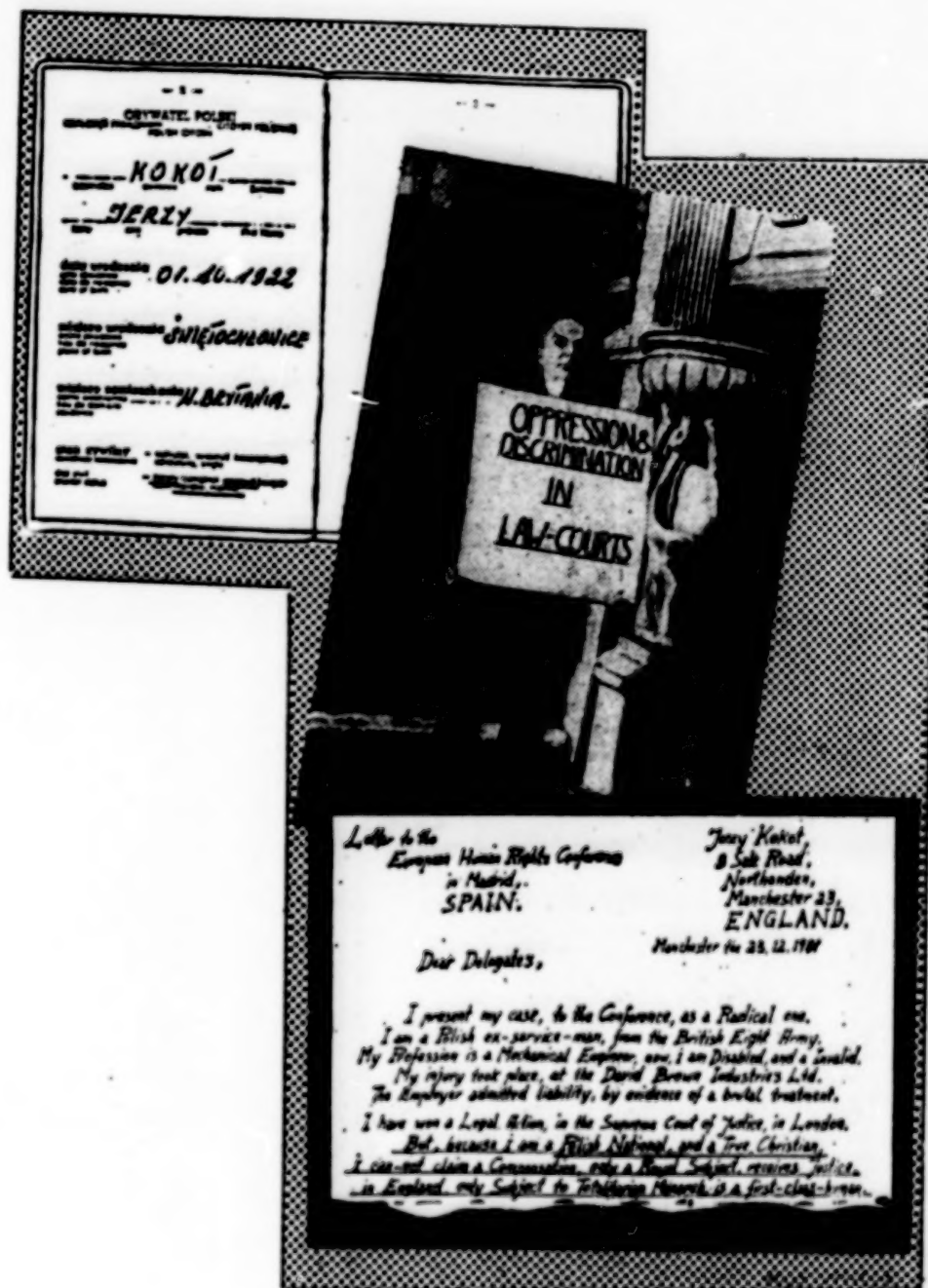
--If I had not been a Pole, but an Englishman, everything would have gone differently. But this way I am an inferior race. A Pole here is the same kind of outcast as a Pakistani, a person from Bangladesh, or a Negro from the West Indies. I have felt this during my life here on the Islands. That is what I am complaining about to Madrid. I am demanding that this discrimination be discussed at the conference. Is it said clearly here?

Kokot reads some lines from his letter:

"My long sufferings and study of the problem have convinced me that at the basis of the suppression of human rights is the entire structure of the political establishment in England and of the entire United Kingdom . . . the system of dividing people into two kinds which has been created here."

Could it be any clearer! Only, will the gentlemen Western delegates take this question up? At the beginning of February the Madrid meeting renewed the next stage of its work, but the West was making a fuss about a completely different document. As is known, in its Brussels communique NATO banged its fist, demanding: the immediate placing on the agenda in Madrid of the "serious violations of the Helsinki Act in Poland." Lord Carrington, the English Minister of Foreign Affairs, signed this masterpiece of uncerecermoniousness with his gold "Parker."

But at the same time, here, in London, Yezhi Kokot is walking about under the windows of the Foreign Office. He comes from Manchester, puts two cardboard posters on himself, and makes his way this way like a "sandwich man" among the crowds. He marks time at the entrances of department stores. He wants Britain to hear his scream: "Help me!" The mirror-like show windows fearlessly reflect the inscription on the posters: "Oppression and discrimination in the law courts." But, in general, one can read more between the lines. The tragedy of a Pole who has been crushed by "British democracy"--this is a piercing symbol of what the West would like to do with 36 million.



No one pays any attention to Kokot. Britain has buried itself in the "box." There horrors are being played out about Poland, and all official sympathy is directed there. However, some people are aware of Yezhi. The police.

--On account of the fact that I protest and organize demonstrations alone with posters, my Karl has not been hired for a job for more than four years now. My son says to me: "Father, it is all because of you!" I cannot look into his eyes. As it is, I do not buy tobacco and I tremble over every pence. All the same, Karl at 24 has nothing to wear. . . .

Strange. The West seems to have laid up quite a bit with its concern for the Poles. The Brussels "Common Market" commission has halted food deliveries to People's Poland. Twenty million pounds sterling have been saved. Whom will they seat on these mountains of gold? "The funds are to be distributed through the Catholic Church and other organizations. . . ."

Which are the ones, need not be asked. Here, for example, the group "Solidarity with Solidarity" is advertising from the pages of the DAILY TELEGRAPH. The discussion here is only in the imperative mood. . . . "Rush money! Printing equipment! Rented trucks and cars! And headquarters in central London with Telexes and telephones!"

Do you feel the scope? This is pan Yarskiy, who is already known to the readers of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, who is running the show in a foreign kingdom. An "Honorary Member of 'Solidarity'"--this is how he recommends himself. It is not yet in the center of London, but he does already have a headquarters. And the telephones are busy from morning until evening. Finally I break through the commotion of activity:

--May I speak with Yarskiy?

A female voice in broken English:

--He is very busy. From 6 in the morning until 11 in the evening he is constantly on the road somewhere. . . .

It is known where. He is shouting into a megaphone in the ports and at the docks: "Stop repairs on Soviet ships! Do not unload containers from Poland!" He hangs around the local trade unions. He tries to persuade the trade union leaders to pressure the government to shut off the valve of international trade. With the Soviet Union and Poland? No, with a single wave with all of Eastern Europe. Why be petty here! At the same time he looks greedily at the trade union safes and rattles his collection box: "Everybody give as much as he can for freedom in Poland!"

In recent days the English trade unionists have been somewhat confused:

--But a collection has already been made by you, by "Solidarity." Also for freedom. So, who, Mr. Yarskiy, represents "Solidarity," you or they?

They--this is a lively new working group of the "Solidarity" trade union led by Arthur Svirgil who has only just slipped out of Poland. He presents himself as a "new Marshal Pilsudski." About his colleague Yarskiy snorts contemptuously:

A pretender, he is ruining my whole liturgy with the English trade union bosses. In short, the keepers of the flame of freedom are backbiting one another. As if they are ideologically different. The counter-revolution which has been smashed in Poland is moving into the emigration on full maintenance from its long-time protectors. And here it is like in a harem: Who is going to be the first wife?

In contrast to Yarskiy who is digging in for a long stay in London, Svirgil excitedly keeps his spirits up: "My stay here is temporary. My goal is to return to Poland and see to it that others return. . . ." What is meant, of course, is the "Polish government in exile." In a mansion on Eaton Place, the gift of the English government, its 90-year-old president--he is Count Edward Rachinski--shakes his head in agreement: "Yes, as long as we are here the communist government in Poland is temporary. . . ."

But here is a strange thing! Work is now being sought for some of the fellow countrymen of the leader of the Polish emigration a bit further from Poland and on a little more permanent basis.

. . . On the television screen--a festive reception. The guests have lined up staidly to kiss the hand of the hostess. Smack, smack . . . An expensive evening dress flutters on the hostess. A gold chain shakes on the host. Across his entire chest. But the guests for some reason are dressed helter skelter: jeans and tee shirts. Lively conversations are not to be heard, only the clatter of forks against plates.

Where is the celebration and for what reason?

In Johannesburg, the Union of South Africa. The local city fathers are greeting the arrival of a group of Polish labor power. While seeking to halt relations with the socialist world, the leaders of the Polish emigration have set them up with . . . the apartheid regime. They have finally found a democracy to their taste!

Moreover, a complete division of labor has been organized. First, the Yarskyies and the Svirgils and others feel out the Poles who were caught by the war abroad and incite them to betray their homeland. Then the job is joined by special groups of recruiters from the South African Republic who today are standing watch at the railroad stations of Austria, at Danish ports, in Sweden, and here in English Tillbury. Sailors from a Polish ship? Okay. Members of a Polish tourist group? That is also good. The racists from the South African republic have plenty of work. From the vacancies at jobs for which blacks are not taken to military service in the detachments of raiders against the border areas of Angola.

Thus, solidarity with "Solidarity" ends with kissing the hands of the monster of racial oppression.

I ask Yezhi Kokot:

--But has it not entered your head to ask help from these emigrant headquarters? Still, they are your fellow countrymen. In addition, they have money--just for the purpose of saving Poles from oppression.

Kokot actually jumps up and down in the armchair. He speaks rapidly, now and then breaking into Polish:

--What do you mean no occasion! The English authorities frequently advised me: "You should go to your own people, for solidarity. . . ."

--And did you go?

--I went. Only, how are they my own? Poles in Poland itself have no idea of who speaks in their name here. They are Zionists!

--But did they receive you?

--I came and set out all of the documents. And they asked: "Why did you come from Manchester? You should have stayed where you were. You should have bought yourself a piece of bread for the money you spent on the railroad ticket." I said "goodbye" and left.

--Do you know what I would like?--Kokot continued.--I would like to speak on Polish television. To tell who is blackening the name of Poland in immigration circles today and why. To tell about the unemployment here which has crossed the three million level. To explain why the chaos in Poland is needed by the English government for its own salvation. To cite its own fate as an example.

. . . A few days later by chance I again saw Yezhi Kokot on the street. The Pole was picketing the entrance of a fashionable restaurant. The same sandwich boards were hanging over his chest and back. Plywood shields which do not protect against anything.

2959

CSO: 1800/366

DEPUTY PREMIER SPEAKS OF DETERIORATING HEALTH SERVICES, HIGHER MORTALITY

Sofia ZDRAVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 27 Feb 82 pp 1, 8

[Speech by Stanish Bonev, Council of Ministers deputy chairman, at the National Conference with the Health Aktiv]

[Text] Comrades:

It is with pleasure that I take the floor to carry out a pleasant instruction of the BCP Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov, its general secretary, and of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic. The instruction is the following: to present to all of you and, through you, the huge army of medical cadres in our country, the warmest greetings and wishes for new and even greater successes in your highly responsible and dedicated efforts for the enactment of the concern of the party for strengthening the health and extending the longevity of every Bulgarian citizen.

As we know, health and longevity are the most valuable human possessions, the highest social value:

They are the foundation for enhancing the sociopolitical and labor activity of man;

They are a decisive factor in increasing the volume of material goods and spiritual values;

They are a necessary prerequisite for the vitality of the nation and the victory of the new social system;

They are one of the focal points of the social policy of the party and the people's system.

Health and longevity mean the happiness of man. They are one of the essential features of the socialist way of life. That is why, the party's programmatic slogan is "Everything for the Sake of Man and Everything for the Good of Man!" That is why the 12th Party Congress formulated the main socio-economic task of the Eighth 5-Year Plan: "To continue the line of comprehensive satisfaction of the steadily growing material, spiritual and social needs of the people...."

The 12th congress made an assessment of results achieved in politics, economics, culture, the further enhancement of the well-being of our people and the strengthening of the country's international prestige.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov said at the congress that "Now we can state with legitimate patriotic pride that under the party's guidance and with the dedicated work of millions of working people we have marked the first decade following the adoption of the program of the Bulgarian Communist Party by building, metaphorically speaking, another new, a second Bulgaria and entering the second decade with two Bulgarias.

Unquestionably, the cadres on the health front have made a worthy contribution to this major success achieved by our people.

Here are a few facts:

We have a fully developed network of outpatient-polyclinical establishments, totaling 3,758; there are 184 hospitals, 186 sanatoriums, 1,130 nurseries and more than 4,500 pharmacies;

The average life span is increasing; temporary disability and invalidity are declining; major successes have been achieved in the struggle to reduce the prevalence of a number of infectious diseases;

Bulgarian medicine has achieved unquestionable successes not only within the country but abroad, in the field of medical-biological, clinical and hygiene disciplines;

The leading role of the Medical Academy, as the scientific health care headquarters, has been strengthened and broadened considerably.

The specific yardsticks and results of such successes achieved in the Seventh 5-Year Plan are the following:

Morbidity caused by contagious diseases declined by 23.5 percent;

Losses caused by illness have declined by six percent in terms of days and 12.5 percent in terms of prime disability;

Infant mortality has reached 20.2 per 1,000 live born children, etc.

These are the clear results of real socialism! This is the overall result of the proper April social policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party!

Today every working person in our country, every Bulgarian citizen, lives and dedicates his work to the solution of the specific problems proceeding from the main socioeconomic task. One of them is the preservation and strengthening of the health of the people, of all members of society.

Consequently, if we ask what is the criterion in assessing the work of the individual citizen, regardless of the nature of his work, the answer is

clear: it is the individual contribution to the implementation of the party's plans. It is the meaning and the content of our daily life.

What was the significance of the October National Conference in terms of the party and the working people in our country?

First. It was a conference at which Comrade Todor Zhivkov, with his typical Marxist-Leninist perspicacity and innovative approach in discovering new means and methods for the implementation of the general April line of the party, formulated the most topical theoretical and practical problems of the present and of the future.

They are the following:

The creation of a material and technical base consistent with mature socialism;

The problem of who is the owner of socialist property;

The nature of the state and the counterplans;

The nature of democratic centralism under contemporary conditions;

The nature of commodity-monetary relations and their place in the period of building mature socialism, etc.

Second. It was a conference at which Comrade Todor Zhivkov, with his typical desire to improve on achievements, made a critical study of many sectors in our life and indicated the topical problems which require the adoption of urgent measures.

One of them is the improvement of health services as a basic component of the system of comprehensive social services to the population.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov made the pleasing assessment that we can be proud of the great successes of our health care system. However, as he said, "A more careful look at things and a consideration of the final results of medical services aimed at improving the health of the people, increasing the life span, and so on, would show that our health front suffers from serious weaknesses and that major claims could be filed against it.... Work on the health front must be improved decisively and problems which affect millions of people must be resolved."

The report submitted by Comrade Radoy Popivanov and many other statements offered extensive data and a thorough analysis and conclusions based upon the critical remarks addressed to our health care system at the October conference. A draft resolution was submitted as well. This is good. I would say that this is a high honor and great responsibility for the leadership and the aktiv of our health front. It is a high honor, for you react quickly to critical remarks not in general terms but with concern, proving once again

that you are listening to the voice of the party and are sincerely trying to justify its trust; it is a great responsibility, for by adopting the suggested resolution you will assume an obligation to the party and the government to make the health care system consistent with the criteria of the 12th Party Congress and the instructions of our general secretary.

The following question arises: is it guaranteed that the present discussion and the draft resolution provide an accurate diagnosis and the type of prescription which will heal the shortcomings in population health services?

I believe that the October National Conference is an exclusive reason for an even deeper and more thorough study of the place and role of the public health care service at the stage of building mature socialism.

In this sense, I shall consider some features without claiming to cover the problem comprehensively and exhaustively.

Let me begin with the following question: is the stipulation of the July 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum and of the 1978 National Party Conference on the main contradiction between the tremendous opportunities and reserves of the existing material and technical base and our entire socialist system and their insufficient subjective utilization applicable to the health care system?

There could hardly be anyone in this whole who would reject its validity.

The party's concern for the development of health care is known far beyond the country's borders.

Let me recall a few facts.

In 1981, our medical services had capital assets in excess of 1.1 billion leva; annual costs are close to 900 million leva, an impressive figure considering the scale of the country, i.e., double the 1975 amount; there are more than 80,000 specialists with secondary and semi-higher training and an identical number of auxiliary personnel; in 1977 Bulgaria was sixth in the world, fifth in Europe and first in the Balkans in terms of the number of people per physician; the specialized health care institutions are being increasingly supplied with the latest medical equipment, and so on and so forth.

The state is allocating substantial additional funds to improve working and living conditions and protect the environment!

Consequently, man with his various needs is the focal point of party policy not in words but in actions.

At the same time, as a party, a state and a nation with a 1,300-year-old history, we cannot ignore the fact that in the stage of building mature socialism some areas in our country trigger justified discontent with the condition and quality of health services.

As a result of a variety of factors recorded cases of population morbidity are increasing with every passing year. Statistical data indicate that there were 7 million registered cases of illness in 1965 compared with 11 million in 1979, i.e., an increase of 62 percent; the number of discharged recovered patients increased from 883 thousand to 1.4 million, i.e., by 58 percent; active preventive examinations cover a larger population; the number of people under outpatient clinic observation has increased.

It is true that as a result of the improved general and health standards of our population, the citizen of today is more careful about his health and seeks medical advice and help more frequently.

Nevertheless, the increased mortality rate justifiably concerns the population and us. Whereas in 1977 Bulgaria was the 60th most populated country in the world, the 17th in Europe and 5th in the Balkans, in terms of mortality per 1,000 people it is 90th in the world, 22nd in Europe and 5th in the Balkans! In 1975 the overall population mortality rate was 10.3 per thousand; in 1980 it had reached 11.1.

One explanation has been that the nation is aging.

Let us consider, therefore, other data:

Please note that whereas in 1965 the mortality rate of the 40-49-year age group was 2.9 per thousand, it rose to 3.6 per thousand in 1979; in the 50 to 59 age group it rose respectively from 8.0 to 9.1 per thousand.

Yet all of us would agree that this is the most active creative age of man! It is in this area that all health units must concentrate their main efforts and take radical measures!

The public health workers owe something for the concern which the party and the state show for our people also in terms of reducing infant mortality. In 1979 we were 37th in the world, 26th in Europe and 2nd in the Balkans in terms of this indicator, although our birth rate was lower and declining. In terms of the birth rate per 1,000 population we are 142nd in the world, 15th in Europe and 6th in the Balkans!

We see, therefore, that many other countries, with similar or even lesser health care resources per capita have reached considerably higher health-demographic indicators.

A close study of such data must be made. Proper conclusions must be drawn precise decisions must be formulated by the personnel, from the cadres of the Ministry of Public Health to the individual health center, in order to raise the level of health services to the requirements of the builders of mature socialism.

It is true that the lag in health services is influenced by factors independent of you, the workers in this area. They include the unsatisfactory solution of the ecological problem, the annual failure to use substantial funds

of planned capital investments for the development of material health care facilities and the preservation and improvement of labor safety and hygiene; the shortage of some types of medical equipment and other modern facilities, etc.

It is also true, however, that the unsatisfactory condition of medical services are caused by major subjective reasons as well. That is precisely what we are discussing now!

What are the more essential among them?

First of all, despite clear party stipulations, preventive treatment has still not become the leading principle in health care. This is confirmed by a number of data: the number of recorded professional illnesses is increasing with every passing year; the number of labor accidents, including lethal ones, remains high; every year, more than 2,000 workers drop out of material production because of disability, and many others.

This is mainly due to the fact that preventive treatment is not active and comprehensive. In many cases it is only formal. Economic managers are responding even more formally to recommendations regarding improvements in hygienic conditions and labor safety.

Let us also not forget that preventive activities have two sides: the first is oriented toward improving the living environment and the second is focused on the individual citizen. Both sides have their place. They are inseparably related and deserve identical concern and attention on the part of all health, economic and public organs and organizations.

However, it is the Ministry of Public Health and its organs and, in the final account, all of us here in this hall who play a leading role in promoting an active and aggressive preventive treatment.

Secondly, some negative aspects in the "sick and healthy worker" ratio continue to manifest themselves.

Many among the speakers who preceded me discussed this topic. I too shall discuss it.

Why?

Because this is the topic of many letters, reports and complaints of individual citizens addressed to central party, state and economic organs and editors of mass information media. They describe not isolated but large numbers of specific cases of formalism, callousness and coarse attitude toward patients. This has been confirmed frequently by the Committee for State and People's Control and the Fatherland Front.

All of this, comrades, justifiably concerns not only the ordinary citizen but our party and state leadership as well.

Let us consider outpatient-polyclinical services. The polyclinics are among the most frequently visited public establishments in the country. Here the citizens are forced to wait a long time before registering, being seen by the sectorial physician, the specialist, you name it! Frequently patients are being shunted from one office to another, from the village to the city, from the polyclinic to the specialized institute, and so on and so forth.

Marx himself wrote that time saving is the first law of social development. What is the contribution of our health care system to saving the time of the working people? Available data show that about 70 percent of the 80 million examinations conducted at polyclinics take more than 1 day.

Since we are discussing time saving, let me cite data of a sociological study. They show that paperwork alone accounts for the following average length of working time: per physician—93 minutes; per feldsher—106 minutes; per midwife—99 minutes; and per nurse—109 minutes.

I have not cited these figures for purposes of sensationalism but as a signal that the organization of labor in outpatient-polyclinical services must be improved; we must save the time both of medical workers and citizens.

What about the standards of medical services! This has already been discussed.

Many physicians do not hear out their patients attentively or else, if they do, give them superficial explanations and wrong treatment instructions, almost looking at their work as "occupation" rather than a vocation. The attitude of the secondary and auxiliary medical personnel toward the patients is particularly alarming. The psychological approach to the patient is underestimated; the fact is ignored that the warm and humane attitude toward him has its spiritual and medical impact. Let us not even mention the unpleasant nature of the hospital garb and furnishings, unseemly feeding equipment, etc.

The report cited some scandalous cases regarding so-called internal hospital infections:

There were 187 cases with 2,018 patients and 186 dead.

Can you imagine the nature of such a traumatic experience: a patient who has been admitted for treatment for one illness dies from another because of the circumstances which developed in the hospital!

It is high time to provide an accurate answer to such questions.

As to dental aid, here again there are "blank spots" along with good accomplishments:

There are frequent cases in which a person has to wait 2 to 3 months for the treatment of a tooth and 10 months for a bridge;

The dental offices in many enterprises have been closed down and services to the workers are extremely limited, although today the number of dentists has merely quadrupled compared with 1944, while the population has increased by no more than 30 percent;

Fillings fall out a few days after they have been put in, although we are working with modern equipment and higher grade materials.

Consequently, what is ~~wrong~~ here is the organization. Here again urgent measures must be taken to raise the level of dental care to meet the greater claims of the citizens.

As to the "sick and healthy worker" ratio, allow me to diverge for a moment and discuss pharmaceutical procurements.

This does not involve exclusively difficulties related to the production and importation of medicinal drugs. Clearly, in that area as well there are major omissions, but that is not our topic. You know far better than I do that many physicians prescribe drugs for which equally good domestically produced substitutes or medicines imported from the socialist countries exist. This worries the patients who begin to apply to the highest party and state levels in an effort to find the missing drug although other drugs with the same effect are available.

This is an urgent problem which demands its rational solution.

Thirdly, the problem of securing health cadres has not been resolved entirely.

We are faced with a clear disproportion in the saturation of some parts of the country with medical cadres, mainly those with higher training. There is a very great shortage of cadres in Kurdzhali, Razgrad, Blagoevgrad, Silistra, Vidin and other okrugs. A large number of physicians practice "on wheels"—they live in the city and practice in various settlements.

Some settlements are without a single physician.

We also face the problem of health care in the border areas and in mountainous and semimountainous villages.

Not all problems of health care in the schools have been resolved.

All of this creates some difficulties in serving the population and, above all, in terms of the quality and effectiveness of health services.

Something better leaves to be desired in upgrading the professional skill of health workers. The problems are:

Usually, young specialists are appointed sector therapeuticians and pediatricians. That is why, they are frequently uncertain in their work, try to reinsure themselves, and frequently make gross diagnostic errors;

Another problem is that of the early general specialization of young physicians and dentists and their training to do independent work in a rural or shop (plant) sector;

It is high time to amend the methods for determining the quantity and quality of medical work: the yardstick must be not the number of people examined but the number of people healed and to what degree of success;

I agree with the fact that something leaves to be desired in terms of improving the moral and material incentive of health workers.

In a word, we need a new approach in the cadre support of the health care network. Without high skill and reliable moral and material incentives no qualitative medical work is possible. This is the only way through which we can and must raise to a higher level the social recognition and prestige of medical work.

Comrades:

I raised somewhat higher the curtain and drew your attention to some sensitive problems in health care not because of a sense of nihilism or disrespect for your successes and your profession. On the contrary! This was dictated exclusively by the desire to reach an accurate assessment and proper conclusions regarding the standard, quality, level and effectiveness of medical services through our joint efforts, which is the topic of the present discussion.

In all likelihood, this discussion will be continued tomorrow at your congress--the congress of the Health Workers' Trade Union.

Allow me to note one aspect, which is giving a more substantial content to the protective function of trade unions.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov has frequently emphasized that under socialist conditions the trade unions are involved in and co-responsible for our socio-economic policy, i.e., for the organization, activities and results of the work of the health care collective and the individual health care worker. They must protect the ordinary health worker against manifestations of bureaucracy and gross administration by superiors. At the same time, the trade unions must struggle against the unconscientious medical workers whose behavior hinders success in health care, improvements in working and living conditions and strengthening the health and extending the longevity of man.

Our conversation today must be shared by all units within the medical network, in every okrug and every conurbation system.

Please, let us understand one another properly.

We have gathered today to review and assess the quality, standards and effectiveness of medical services in accordance with the criteria and

requirements of the 12 Party Congress and to earmark realistic and effective practical measures for their decisive improvement in the spirit of the instructions of Comrade Todor Zhivkov issued at the October 1981 National Conference.

That is why this discussion be headed by the leadership of the Ministry of Public Health and the primary party organizations within the health care system. Effective and comprehensive measures must be earmarked with their help so that health care may become a project involving the entire nation and every individual citizen.

The main problem now is the following: a change must be made in the style and method of work, of thinking and actions of the personnel, of all medical cadres, ranging from specialists at the Ministry of Public Health to the rural and shop sector.

Why?

Because the subjective factor is the one which can rapidly improve or worsen the condition of health care without particularly substantial investments;

Because the subjective factor is the one which raises or lowers the standard of medical services;

And because the subjective factor is the one which is responsible for the reorganization of health care which must be entirely consistent with the party's socioeconomic policy.

That is why we expect in the few days, with no postponements or hesitations, specific positive results in terms of:

Improving work with the ordinary working peoples;

Mastering and applying the latest and most modern scientific achievements in medical practice;

Reducing paper shuffling and excessive meetings.

Consequently, the decisive factor today is the organization, the organization and the organization again of medical work. This is the most important conclusion which can be drawn as the result of today's discussions.

We must decisively improve the work of the okrug people's councils and the managements of the conurbation systems. As organs of the people's regime, they bear governmental and social responsibility for the status of health care work; health care problems must become their daily concern; they must improve and expand material facilities and create the best possible conditions for the stabilization of medical cadres and the prompt solution of all of their social problems.

The economic organizations within the chemical, machine building, electronics, construction, transportation, forests and light and local industries and the agroindustrial complexes are also short in their help to the health care system.

In a word, comprehensive and radical measures are needed in the spirit of the new economic approach and its mechanism in order to create the necessary environment in which the existing weaknesses in the medical services offered the population will be eliminated, the vitality of the Bulgarian nation will be improved and the life span of the people will gradually extended to its natural limits.

Now, when the party has supplied us with the milestones for future development, and when the problems which must be resolved have been clearly delineated, action and only action, creative and communist action, is demanded of all of us.

The BCP Central Committee and the government have great faith in the medical cadres. They believe that you, our health workers, will dedicate a great deal of effort, knowledge, ability and sacrifice to improve the standards and effectiveness of medical services in order to protect and strengthen the health of the Bulgarian people--the people building Bulgaria's communist century.

I thank you!

5003

CSO: 2200/69

RESEARCH OF PUBLIC OPINION DIRECTOR ON MASS MEDIA

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 7, 17 Feb 82 pp 14, 15

[Article by Karel Rychtarik, PhD, Director of the Federal Office of Statistics' Research Institute of Public Opinion: "Social Information and Its Dominating Sources."]

[Text] In the whole history of the party, the importance and causes of the struggle for the character of human consciousness have never been emphasized so urgently and specifically as at the 16th Congress. This struggle constitutes a fundamental part of the social conflicts of our times. It requires further investigation of the means and methods for increasing the effectiveness of ideological efforts, which cannot be exercised successfully without sufficient and reliable social information concerning primarily and specifically the area of sociopolitical relations, phenomena and processes.

Information--the Instrument of Control

In the area of information processes, particularly as related to the mass communication media, we face situations that are usually characterized as "scissors" between the amount of information and the opportunity to use it. For instance, Soviet authors involved in the theory of social information and its relationship to the control of ideological efforts estimated that 7 billion pages of printed material are being added to the information flow every year. About 700,000 scientific research final reports and 85,000 original articles are published in the world every year; there are 100,000 scientific journals published in 60 languages, etc. This situation is sometimes referred to as the "information explosion." Questions arise as to not only how to produce information but also how to index, process and classify it and how to readily retrieve it for practical purposes in a modern way, with the help of computers.

Sociologists point out another problem: we do not need just any kind of information; we need valid information to be available, i.e., accurate, authentic, and sufficiently reliable information about the needs, interests, opinions, and moods of classes, groups and strata of population, nations and nationalities living in the CSSR, the inhabitants of villages, small communities and big cities, people both with basic and college education, youth, pensioners, etc. Systematically organized research based on the theoretical methodological basis of Marx-Leninist sociology can provide a significant method for obtaining such information. The research must be conceived in such a way as to provide information relevant from the point of view of social demands and meaningful from the point of view of the investigated social relations and social interaction.

Such information is useful and necessary for making correct decisions only when its value is reduced to immediate application of the data obtained through empiric sociologic research but particularly in such situations when it discovers new facts about social development, improves our knowledge of the laws governing social processes, their tendencies, pace and the nature of changes taking place in various areas of social life. This applies equally to the macrolevel, interlevel and microlevel and also throughout the entire country as well as in individual localities.

With respect to these relations we must always keep in mind that not only empiric sociological information but the entire system of sociological knowledge must be involved in the process of social practice. Neglecting these facts of sociology can have as negative consequences as ignoring some "insignificant details" or "local problems." Not to deal with "local," seemingly "partial" questions which, however, are very important for people's everyday life, or not to deal with them consistently, means to create situations potential for the rise of social crises.

The questions of information processes constitute problems which can be managed only through gigantic work, which must be done. It is unnecessary to prove why information is an indispensable instrument of control and the most important condition for making correct decisions. We all realize that especially control over ideological efforts, whose improvement has been so urgently emphasized in the resolutions of top party organs, can only be exercised effectively on the background of representative and differentiated information.

The problem of information is thus formed as unusually important both from the point of view of scientific research and practice. Quite a few things have been done. In the area of scientific research, cybernetics have been established as an independent science and information problems are being elaborated; information science has arisen as a new scientific discipline, the number of monographs concerning the mathematical statistical approach to information is growing, the unity of both qualitative and quantitative analysis of social information has become the subject of many--very often stormy--disputes, the institutional basis for research into public opinion is being completed, etc.

These problems are encountered with similarly high frequency by those who are in immediate contact with social practice. A growing number of ideological-front workers realize that the formation of contemporary man, the increase of his creative and transforming capacities, is possible only when a certain amount of social information has been acquired as a significant part of the social consciousness.

The user of the results of scientific research activities wishes to have an increasingly more extensive spectrum of alternative options enabling him to make purposeful choice. He may or may not recognize numerous deforming noises in the communication channels and the information redundancy and, therefore, he demands the introduction of rationally working systems optimizing the communication processes based on the media of mass information and propaganda, especially in the area of social consciousness.

Dominating Sources of Political and Economic Information

Today, television, radio and press have become incomparable sources of information, instruments of great influence and effect on people's consciousness, thought, emotions, actions, work and life, sources of information about political and economic problems of life in our country.

Some results of the research carried out into the public opinion have recently brought significant facts in this respect.

Let us consider the fundamental conditions for the acceptance of social information, that is, the interest of the users themselves. Eighty-one percent of the people asked regard political and economic information as "very important" or "rather important" for contemporary man, 7 percent consider it "rather unimportant" 1 percent "unimportant", 11 percent do not know, they have never thought about it.

These are very favorable findings and they do not change essentially for the area (CSR, SSR), kraj, age, sex, economic activity or the size of the community where people live. However, a higher level of education completed and political activity are meaningfully related to the growing awareness of the importance of the political and economic information for our citizens. Our research has also brought similar findings in instances where we inquired into our citizens' interest in the most discussed internal or international political events.

Political and economic information is understood as very important by the entire population. The awareness of the importance of information grows with the citizen's political activity and involvement, the level of his education and the level of his position in the job, i.e., with the citizen's participation in control.

The wide spectrum of our information sources, serving as instruments of political and ideological education in the socialist society, makes use of its potentials in a very favorable situation.

Let us show now the general evaluation of these sources, as obtained through an analysis emphasizing the influence of the information sources on the formation of the opinions on economic, internal and international political problems. (Table 1)

However, the fact that the importance of television, press and radio has been appreciated so highly does not mean that all people, or even the majority of the people, are satisfied with the present way of providing information on political and economic events at home or abroad, or that these media of mass information and propaganda always meet all their expectations; e.g., that the listeners and readers are satisfied entirely with the information as interesting, current and clear. The Czechoslovak population is widely differentiated, particularly with respect to these questions. This, however, is a subject requiring an independent and deeper analysis by specialized scientific research centers.

Table 1

Influence on the Formation of Opinions on Czechoslovak Economy, Internal and International Political Events Data for CSSR in percents

<u>Source</u>	<u>Degree of Importance</u>			
	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Little Important</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
ECONOMY				
Czechoslovak Television	80	15	4	1
Central Press	73	20	6	1
Czechoslovak Radio	71	21	7	1
INTERNAL POLITICAL EVENTS				
Czechoslovak Television	80	13	5	2
Czechoslovak Radio	72	20	6	2
Central Press	73	18	7	2
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL EVENTS				
Czechoslovak Television	77	15	6	2
Central Press	72	18	8	2
Czechoslovak Radio	69	22	7	2

Nevertheless, it is an indisputable fact that television, radio and central press constitute a dominating group of information sources. Out of these, television occupies the leading position and becomes a medium with specific potentials.

In contradistinction to all one-sided predictions, it has been confirmed again that the central press and radio do have their own irreplaceable mission. No matter how television spreads, the specific characteristics of the radio and press cannot be replaced. Thus, television only modifies but does not restrict the specific potentials of the radio and press, especially their mobility, operational readiness, immediateness, the ability to maintain permanent information connections with large audiences and the differentiated methods of effective action in the domain of politics, education, culture, arts, recreation and entertainment. The ascertained data emphasize the urgent requirement for deepening and accentuating those specific features that are irreplaceable for the information influence of individual mass communication media.

Not even the highest intensity of the influence of the mass communication media can "erase" the effect of the direct word and direct contact as represented by dialog, instruction, meetings, consultations and the like. Thus, "10-minute talks" and county and factory local press are primarily the sources of information of local influence (factory, workshop, school, office and the like) with a considerably specific orientation, and constitute an inseparable part of our economic, internal and international political information network.

The graded importance of real information influence should not lead to underestimating such media whose function is relevant just for this specific differentiated influence over certain limited locality, social, professional and age groups, as applied to immediate local situations at workplaces. Direct communicative contact is particularly irreplaceable in politically tense and complex situations. The demand for the live word is multiplied by the need to find one's way in the large amount of information available, to answer every question, to clarify opinions on the information received and make them more accurate, to conduct dialog and to show active interest in the questions discussed. In this very context, the 16th Congress emphasized the role of personal agitation in the system of the development of mass political efforts. For instance, the research into information problems shows that more than two-thirds of the Czechoslovak population "always" or "quite frequently" or "from time to time" discuss political questions of our life with their friends and acquaintances.

Sometimes it happens that people's opinions on a certain thing or event, verified by direct experience, differ from what is presented on the radio or television or what they read in the central press. The following data have been obtained from people who answered the question: "What information do you consider more reliable: the information provided by the press, radio and television or what people say?" (Table 2)

Table 2

"What Information Do You Consider More Reliable: the Information Provided by the Press, Radio and Television, or What People Say?"

Data for CSSR in percents

Type of Response	<u>Preference</u>			
	Sometimes the Media, Sometimes What People Say	Television, Press and Radio	What People Say	Do Not Know
Respondent's Statement About Himself	44	35	13	8
				<u>Total</u>
				100

Apart from great importance which people attribute to direct communication (44 percent of citizens sometimes prefer information from the communication media and sometimes what people say), the data show again considerable confidence that our citizens have in our mass communication media. These numbers confirm again the dominating preference for the mass media as the basic source of information. However, we should not make unambiguous positive conclusions from this fact for at least two reasons:

1. The dominating preference for mass media can be given only by their easy and direct availability and by their attractive potential firmly rooted in the consciousness of the readers and listeners. 2. As for the content and evaluation of particular problems, people's natural direct communication should not be at variance with the information provided by the mass media for a long time (we already know that more than two-thirds of our citizens discuss political topics with their friends and acquaintances). Such contradiction stimulates distrust in everything which now creates the dominating preference of the mass communication and propaganda media.

If we want to achieve unambiguous influence, the sources with local influence and direct personal information transfer must not be given less care than television, radio and central press.

However, it remains an indisputable fact that mass media have become indispensable social institutions of the second half of the 20th century. Their dominating preference has become a reality of the ideological and political struggles of our times. They collect, process and spread information on a mass scale. This happens with considerable regularity and speed and in an impersonal and, to a large extent, stereotyped way. This "complement to direct, immediate, interpersonal contact" intended for a varied, geographically scattered public constantly increases the amount of information which influences people in particular situations and may or may not become behavioral motivation.

V I Lenin considered social information as part of the party political and educational efforts. In his words, "if life should not go past us and if we should not go past our life," we must pay constant and systematic attention to the question of the sources and content of information flows, the qualitative analysis and optimal application of information related to the ideological efforts of the party in particular. The more developed the society, the larger and the more contradictory the extent of historical events and the more people participating in the social struggles of our times, the more qualified and more reliable information must be provided for the control of the ideological processes.

9814

CSO: 2400/163

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STRUCTURE, FUNCTION OF SOCIALIST POLITICAL ORGANIZATION DEFINED

Theory-Practice Contrast

East Berlin DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE in German Vol 30 No 1, Jan 82
(signed to press 2 Nov 81) pp 5-17

[Article by Prof Dr Rudolf Dau, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander Pedagogical College, Dresden: "The Political Organization of the Socialist Society and Its Realization in the GDR." Translations of this author's two Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT articles cited in footnotes 14 and 32 below follow this article]

[Text] The matters of the theory and practice of political organization in socialist society have played an increasing role since the early 1970's in the program documents of most Marxist-Leninist parties and the social science publications in the countries of the socialist community of states. In connection with the elaboration of the theory about the developed socialist society, produced through an internationalist cooperative effort and by generalizing the experiences of several countries, as underscored by the 26th CPSU Congress as an essential prerequisite for rendering the paths and time-frames for implementing the program goals more precise and concrete over a long historic period,¹ we have been ever more successful in defining the essence, functions, historic dynamics and prospect of the political organization of socialist society and gaining uniform basic positions--while differences of opinion about details certainly still exist. The need to do "thorough theoretical work" on problems of political organization in socialist society, which the 10th SED Congress also underlined as a national and international task,² mainly follows from the fact that in the process of the continued shaping and perfecting of the developed socialist society, the role of the subjective factor inevitably rises, by which we mean "the intellectual, moral-psychological and other components in the activities of people, classes, parties and other social groups and organizations." "The subjective factor is a certain degree of men's awareness, organization, will and energy, as needed for their obtaining their goals."³ The political organization of socialist society--based on the socialist production relations and created by the workers class and its allies--is that "multisegmented and streamlined total social subject"⁴ which, as the centerpiece of the political superstructure, and in the sense of the relative independence of politics, actively affects the shaping of the economic, political, social and cultural-ideological relations of society. With it, it is the crucial instrument of the working people, led by the workers class, for revolutionarily organizing men in socialism, exercising the political power of the

workers class, and the scientific management of social affairs satisfying ever more complex and higher demands.

While taking generous account of the extensive discussions going on, mainly in the Soviet Union but also in the GDR and other socialist countries,⁵ toward defining the political organization of socialist society, and by treating the concepts, "political organization of socialist society" and "political system of socialism," as synonyms, we define the political organization of socialist society as the totality of the governmental-political and sociopolitical facilities, institutions, organizations and movements and their relations with one another.⁷ This thus embraces a certain order of concrete political organizations, their activities and objectives, as well as the reciprocal relations among the political subjects in socialist society, the forms, norms and methods and the development of their working together.⁸ In this sense then there are also included in the political organization of socialist society the substance and methods of implementing the interests of the workers class and of the classes and strata allied with it, the ways and means for realizing the political power of the workers class, characteristic of the socialist type of democracy, the character of relations evolving among the classes in the seizure and consolidation of socialist state power, the steps of social maturation in involving the working masses in the organized exercise of power and management of society, the realization of the working people's rights and freedoms, the socialist political and legal order, as well as the interrelations between society, the state, the collective and the socialist personality.

Through political organization, the power of the workers class is realized in its totality, and all working people, led by the workers class and its party, are comprehensively organized for the purpose of consciously enforcing their interests and of utilizing objective inevitabilities and are enabled scientifically to manage society and construct socialism and communism. The political organization embraces the system of the political organizations, institutions and facilities such as the Marxist-Leninist party as the leading core, the socialist state as the main instrument of the working people, led by the workers class, for constructing socialism and communism, as well as the social organizations (like trade unions, youth and women's organizations), cooperatives (consumer cooperatives, housing construction cooperatives), affiliations (scientific and technical educational societies) and associations (for artists, journalists and writers), the mass communication media (the press, radio, television), the work collectives and--in some countries--democratic parties of the socialist working people closely cooperating with the communist parties in the shaping of socialism, as well as movements and organizations such as the National Front in the GDR. Of increasing importance in our political organization are the work collectives which provide greater opportunities for the working people to combine their jobs with participating in management on the various levels, as are the forms of direct democracy (public debate of bills, constitutional plebiscites). The political organization furthermore includes the political ideology of the workers class, the directives from the working class party, the political-moral norms elaborated by the social organizations, the political traditions and the political culture.⁹

Political organization in its origin and development is most closely linked with the fulfillment of the historic mission of the working class, the preparation, formation and development of communist society. In the process of preparing and conducting the socialist revolution, the workers class creates for itself its political organization because the politically organized power of the exploiter class can be overthrown only by the stronger politically organized power of the workers class. "The proletariat has no other weapon in the struggle for power but its organization. Split by the rule of anarchical competition in the bourgeois world, suppressed by its unfree labor for capital, the proletariat can and absolutely will become an invincible force only by having its ideological unification reinforced on the basis of Marxist principles through the material unity of organization which molds millions of working people into the army of the workers class."¹⁰ Establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat makes possible and necessary at once the comprehensive organization of all working people. The socioeconomic principles of this completely new type of unified political organization of all society lie in the socialist ownership in the means of production and in the class and social structure of socialist society by and large determined by the leadership role of the workers class. During the transition period from capitalism to socialism, during the shaping of the developed socialist society, and while the foundations of communism are laid, the uniformity, organization and purposefulness of the variously structured and ramified political organization increase constantly. Its creative functions are growing in the management of the economic, social and cultural construction of the new society. An important condition and an outcome at once of its functioning successfully and of the further development of the political organization is the constant growth of social consciousness raising the population onto a higher level of political culture.

The fundamental and all-inclusive inevitability in the development of the political organization is the further spreading and perfecting of socialist democracy. Socialist democracy is at one and the same time the substance and the manner of functioning, the prerequisite and the result of the work of political organization. The further spreading and perfecting of socialist democracy as its real exercise of power, the ever broader involvement of the citizens in the management of public affairs, and the strengthening of the role of the work collectives and of the social organizations are important conditions in the GDR for fulfilling the main task policy, issued by the Eighth SED Congress and carried on by the ninth and 10th party congresses, for implementing the unity of economic and social policy. Also such tasks as socialist economic integration, the struggle for ensuring peace and further enforcing the peaceful coexistence policy, and the support for revolutionary movements in capitalist countries and young national states can constantly be better taken care of only through growing effectiveness in political organization, especially by the increasing role of the working class party and the socialist state.

The 10th SED Congress took important resolutions on further perfecting the political organization of socialist society in the GDR. Of special importance here are the tasks to strengthen the role of the Marxist-Leninist party as the leadership force in shaping the developed socialist society and in reinforcing its relations with the masses. The all-round strengthening of the socialist state, as the power instrument of the working people under working class leadership and as the state-political organization of the GDR people, will continue to

guarantee throughout the 1980's "that the great goals are achieved which our party has posed in the interest and for the benefit of the working people."¹¹ Also the resolutions on the role and tasks of the trade unions and of the women's and youth organizations, on the close cooperation among the parties and mass organizations in the Democratic Bloc and the National Front of the GDR, reflecting the working class party's alliance policy, are aimed at further elevating the authority and functionality of the political organization of socialist society. Socialist democracy is the major trend in which the state power and all of the political organization of socialist society will continue to move. "It ensures the broadest involvement of the working people in the management of public processes, particularly in state management. That is why we aim our efforts at an ever closer cooperation of the state organs with the social organizations, the work collectives and the various activities of the working people in all domains of life."¹²

A New Type of Political Organization

The resolutions of the eighth, ninth and 10th party congresses--foreshadowed already in the Party Program--aimed at shaping more clearly than ever before the characteristic traits of the political organization of socialism in the process of shaping the developed socialism of the GDR, pervading all phases of its development and only now coming fully into their own. Such traits mainly are the uniformity of political organization, its historic creativity as the subject of politics, its communist purposiveness, and its democratism aimed at the self-realization of man. While it is itself one of the advantages of socialist society, in the course of historic development it, in turn, crucially contributes to gaining full validity for all the advantages, impulses and values of socialism. "Only the political power of the workers class ensures the freedom of the people for creating living conditions of human dignity for all citizens, as it ensures the freedom of personality."¹³

That political organization of society which is decisively shaped by the constantly growing leadership role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party thus is from the very outset a new type of political organization. As to its new socioeconomic principles, its class content and communist objective, its historic dynamics and prospects and its principles and manner of functioning, it fundamentally and ever more visibly differs from previous types of organization of society, being historically superior to them from the outset. That is also brought out clearly by a survey on the most important phases in the historic development of the political organization of socialist society in the GDR:

1. The prehistory of the political organization of socialist society embraces the whole history of the revolutionary German workers movement and the history, forged by the workers class, of the anti-imperialist, later the antifascist, alliance of the working people up to 1945. Through decades of changeable class struggles, the revolutionary German workers class, thanks to the outstanding historic achievement of Marx and Engels, under direct influence from Lenin and the Comintern, and through constant confrontation with social reformism, created its Marxist-Leninist party in the form of the KPD which, after Hitler fascism was crushed, would prove the nucleus of a new political organization of society. As the best organized and conscious vanguard of the German workers class, structured

in line with the principles of democratic centralism, the KPD in the 1920's created a system of revolutionary social organizations (trade union, women's, youth and children's organizations) and a political alliance of antifascist working people. Being itself still a part of the unified yet contradictory political organization of capitalist society,¹⁵ it prepared, through its program on destroying German fascism, particularly in the 11 June 1945 appeal, the plan to eliminate capitalist society's political organization in Germany and, through its state-political ideas for establishing an antifascist German democratic republic, the orientation to an entirely new type of political organization for society.

2. The period of the antifascist-democratic transformation from 1945 to 1949 may be called the period that directly prepared socialist society's political organization in the GDR. Under the leadership by the politically united workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, there was created at that time on the soil of today's GDR, under the encouraging influence by the Soviet occupation power, what was essentially an antifascist-democratic state as the chief link in a new political organization of society. In close unity and reciprocity with the construction of state-political institutions then came the construction and development of sociopolitical organizations. Society's political organization as an instrument of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and farmers matured and developed particularly in the process of creating its own economic and class-bound principles. Mainly the implementation of the democratic land reform, the expropriation of war and Nazi criminals, and the conversion of expropriated enterprises into public property left the reactionary forces with less and less ground to stand on and formed that new basis of society which was prerequisite to a quick consolidation of the class alliance led by the workers class and its party, and thus to boosting the development of society's new political organization itself.

3. With the founding of the GDR in October 1949, socialist society's political organization began to form in our country. Already prepared to a large extent under working class hegemony, in economic, social, political, and cultural-ideological terms, under the conditions of the antifascist-democratic transformation, the entire political organization of socialist society now began to function more and more as the instrument to implement the dictatorship of the proletariat, the SED being its leadership nucleus and the socialist state, its main link. The organized state-political and sociopolitical power of the workers class became the principal foundation of socialism, and it remained that principal foundation during all the further shaping of socialism, became the instrument for the progressing implementation of the historic mission of the workers class under the conditions of transition from capitalism to socialism. In the same process in which the foundations of socialism were laid, there also formed socialist society's political organization as part of the new social superstructure, in close interaction with the development of the economic and class basis of society, and at the end of this phase, "socialist society's political organization had essentially been created."¹⁶ The recently published "GDR History" also observes: "Under SED leadership and in alliance with the other working classes and strata, the workers class had created firm political and economic foundation for politics. Socialist society already had a stable political organization."¹⁷

4. With the transition to the all-inclusive construction of socialism (Fourth SED Congress, 1963) and with developed socialism beginning to be shaped in the GDR (Eighth SED Congress, 1971), the socialist society's political organization entered a new phase of development. Its basic tendencies and requirements were set down in the Party Program as adopted by the ninth party congress and further specified in the tenth. It is being taken as an accepted fact that "the shaping of the developed socialist society is an historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes."¹⁸ In this historic process, where the material-technical base and the production relations of developed socialism are created, the rapprochement among the classes and strata proceeds according to plan and consciously, the socialist political and legal order takes shape, the socialist achievements are expanded, and the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community of states is consolidated, socialist society's political organization--in counteraction with those changes--keeps developing further.

The fact that socialist society's political organization is a new type of political organization hence is in principle expressed in being

--the start of the revolutionary transformation of society--in contrast to capitalist society's political organization, which was given birth from the womb of feudal society--and will remain the "first and foremost"¹⁹ in laying the foundations of socialism and developed socialism, as the embodiment and expression of working class power, all the way to mature communism;

--in accordance with its essence, the dictatorship of the proletariat, "not merely a force against the exploiters, and not even mainly a force," but "the economic foundation of this revolutionary force, the guarantee for its vitality and success being that the proletariat, in comparison with capitalism, represents and realizes a higher type of the social organization of labor";²⁰

--constitutive from the beginning, as the substance and functional framework of socialist democracy, of the dictatorship of the people's progressive majority vis-a-vis a historically obsolete minority, whereby it becomes superior a million-fold²¹ to bourgeois democracy; and

--created by the workers class, not to eternalize class rule but to abolish the state and politics altogether through evolving the communist overall social ownership in the means of production and the classless, communist society, and to do away gradually with the dualism between state and society, or political organization and society.

The historic superiority of socialist society's political organization in the GDR to capitalist society's organization finds its most concentrated expression in that it, as the subject of politics, always aims at "creating all material, socio-economic and political-ideological prerequisites for bringing to realization at an ever higher level the purpose of socialism of doing everything for the good of the people and the interests of the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people."²²

On the Uniformity of Socialist Society's Political Organization

The constantly increasing uniformity of socialist society's political organization is due to the dialectical interaction, typical of socialism, between the dynamically developing economic and social basis on the one side and the increasing role of

the political superstructure, on the other. The undivided supremacy of socialist production relations evolving becomes the foundation for a progressive socialization of production and labor, and thus of the rapprochement among the classes and social strata. "From that politics is the means to enforce the economic interests of the classes, it is bound to follow that it is not merely a passive result of economic circumstances but that it itself again actively affects them, in that the classes through political means affect economic circumstances on their own behalf. This repercussion politics has on economics is also expressed under the conditions of the political power of the workers class through the deliberate implementation of the principle of the primacy of the political approach to resolving economic problems."²³

The critical guarantee for the increasing uniformity of socialist society's political organization--with all the growing variety of political relations--is the Marxist-Leninist working class party. It also is the crucial component of the subjective factor in socialism.²⁴ The leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party in socialist society is qualitatively determined by its representing the interests of the workers class, which are identical with the basic interests of all other classes and strata. As the vanguard of the workers class, as "the highest manifestation of consciousness in social development, in the construction of communism,"²⁵ and as the "mostly highly organized force combining in itself the unity of will and action and iron discipline,"²⁶ it elaborates the social conceptions, coordinates all political activities in socialist society, and also keeps developing socialist democracy further while the masses are gaining greater awareness. Among the most important tasks the party has also are a constant and penetrating analysis of objective conditions developing, a timely recognition and solution of ripened contradictions, and an ever deeper penetration of the developmental laws of society.

The 10th SED Congress also has confirmed the finding that "the constant elevation of the party's leadership role in all spheres of society is an objective necessity." "That ensures the political stability and dynamics of socialism. A steady ideological and organizational growth of the party, the further elevation of its leadership role, and its alliance policy are important characteristics of the strengthening of our workers and farmers power. Above all the revolutionary characteristics of the workers class as the class in power, its increasing political maturity, its internationalist and patriotic stance in confrontation with imperialism and bourgeois ideology, its ideological and technical training, and its ability to manage, plan and shape our socialist society are going to become much more pronounced in the stage ahead. From that it follows that we must aim our Marxist-Leninist party's leadership role still more at predictively and comprehensively directing the developmental processes."²⁷

An important basis for the uniformity of socialist society's political organization also is the socialist state. In its function of being the state-political organization of all members of society, it ensures the stability, functionality and forward development of socialist society's political organization on the basis of a uniform system of corporate representative bodies throughout the country and by means of the uniform working principle of democratic centralism and of socialist inevitability.²⁸ As the power instrument of the workers class, the class of the

cooperative farmers allied with it, and the other working people, it will in the GDR also have in the 1980's "important tasks to fulfill in the implementation of its economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions, in foreign policy, and in ensuring the protection of the workers and farmers power. Its continued all-round strengthening will remain a key political issue to us."²⁹

The political exercise of power in socialism, "its dynamic reality, mainly materializes through the management of many public affairs"³⁰ by the state which, furnished with all the attributes of political power, is the most important agent of party policy. Its role keeps growing always through the implementation of the economic strategy of the 10th party congress, the solving of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, and the fostering of continued intellectual-cultural development, as described in the 10th party congress resolutions. What matters here, in the sense of socialist democracy, the main trend in the development of socialist state power, is to strengthen the radiation of the people's representations as working corporate bodies, to learn control increasingly more how to entwine the manifold processes in the economy, in science, in the social and cultural field and in national defense, and to attain ever closer cooperation between the state organs and the social organizations, the work collectives and the various activities of the working people in all domains of life."³¹

An expression of the growing uniformity of socialist society's political organization in the GDR also is the work of the social organizations and work collectives. Proceeding from identical basic interests of the forces united in the social organizations, and reinforced by ever more effective forms of cooperation and the gradual rapprochement among the classes and strata, the working people are developing extensive public activities which have their basis in the social organizations' secured right to take part in the management of state and social affairs. That is why the 10th party congress paid special attention to the growing role of the trade unions, the youth and women's organizations, and the National Front for the further development of the class alliance, the conduct of socialist emulation, the enforcing of scientific-technical progress, the constant deepening of socialist democracy and the further improvements in the working people's working and living conditions. Also grown has the role of the work collectives which--as there are representatives of the party, the state and the social organizations working in them--are living micromodels, as it were, of the socialist society's overall political system. Through their confirming the candidates for being elected people's representatives, their efforts in solving production tasks, their ideological work, their improving working and living conditions, and their demonstrating internationalist solidarity, their role was heightened especially as subjects of politics.³²

Political Organization and Socialist Personality

Especially since the Eighth SED Congress, social development in the GDR has made us ever more clearly aware of that the effort of all of socialist society's political organization--its separate components as well as its functioning mode, and its principles and norms--is aimed at the well-being of the people, the development of its creativity, the free development of each working person as a socialist personality. The peace strategy of the 10th party congress attests to that primarily which--in unity with the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress--

is informed with the working class party's desire to ensure peaceful development for the GDR people and the peoples in the socialist community of states even under the more complicated conditions of the confrontation course by reactionary imperialist, especially U.S., forces. Another point of orientation for the 1980's is to hold on to the time-tested course of the main task despite changed reproduction conditions and increased economic burdens and to elevate "the people's material and cultural standard of living on the basis of a high developmental tempo in socialist production, and our efficiency, scientific-technical progress, and our labor productivity."³³ This expresses the humanistic nature of socialist policy of doing everything for the people and with the people. The focal point in the activities of the party, the state and socialist society's entire political organization is being placed more and more evidently on man, the socialist personality. His rights and freedoms not only find their basis in socialist state power and in the entire political organization of socialism, "they furthermore culminate in the right and freedom to be able to exercise power, power over our goals and plans, over what we ourselves do and the social relations emanating from that. Political freedoms are many, but the most fundamental of all of them are the right and freedom to participate in government and administration."³⁴

Socialist society's political organization increasingly determines the substance, dynamics and functionality of socialist democracy. The new socioeconomic bases of socialist society make possible and require that higher type of social labor organization that finds its most striking expression in planned and organized production, in the scientific management of all production processes on behalf of the members of society, and in the utilization of the accomplishments of scientific-technical progress for the benefit of all. Primarily through the working people's struggle for rapid production boosts through raising its productivity and efficiency, for ever better satisfying the people's material and cultural needs, for developing the working people's sociopolitical activities in production, and through the management of social affairs, that higher level of socialist democracy is being reached that still more emphatically affects the development of socialist personalities and promotes the fashioning of a socialist way of life. For the first time, the freedom of personality and a genuine guarantee of human rights are being made to prevail all throughout society. Thanks to the working people's communist education by the institutions of socialist society's political organization can such ethical working class values as collectivism, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism become the norms for the thinking and conduct of all classes and strata.

By constantly further developing and perfecting itself, socialist society's political organization also crucially contributes to the shaping of the socialist character of the family, the people and the nation. Communist education within the family, the increasingly effective family policy of the socialist state, and the fully enforced equality between man and woman within the family and society increasingly become an important condition for the functioning of socialist democracy while they also are an outcome of the work of socialist society's political organization. Through doing away with exploitation and transforming all people in socialism into working people, the people and the population become identical in a socialist country. In essence, the political community of the socialist people coincides with socialist society's political organization. It not only

creates and develops the material conditions for the blossoming of the socialist nations, the realization of proletarian internationalism, and the rapprochement among the nations; it also affects and alters, in line with working class norms and principles, the national consciousness, the national traditions, customs, habits and so forth.

The 10th party congress directed the party and state organs' attention and the attention of the social organizations, in particular, to the new requirements and opportunities resulting, for the working people's democratic activities, from the newly evolving combines and specialized agricultural production cooperatives. As social division of labor and specialization advance, a greater responsibility arises for each and every enterprise collective and each individual with respect to the functioning of the reproduction process in the entire combine or cooperative. What matters now is to carry over the basic forms of the working people's democratic activity, as they have evolved and proven themselves, into the cooperation relations in the large economic units; optimum cooperation between individual management and working people participation in economic management is to be achieved thereby.

The party congress made us realize that the further development of socialist democracy in the combines and cooperatives helps consolidate the GDR's socialist production relations, promote the cooperation and rapprochement among the classes and strata and, with our economic performance improvement in the 1980's and the fulfillment of the main task, also helps change qualitatively the conditions and possibilities for the complete development of socialist personality. "We can rest assured," E. Honecker observed at the 10th party congress with reference to the GDR's economic strategy, "that the main lines of our qualitative economic development developed by our party in recent years have deeply penetrated our people's thoughts and conduct. They increasingly inform the cooperative efforts of workers and cooperative farmers, scientists and technicians, and determine the thrust of their emulation. It becomes ever more evident that socialism can effectively link scientific-technical progress with mass initiative, which is one of its great strengths."³⁵

Socialism's Political Organization and Its Imperialist Enemies

Proceeding from imperialist conceptions of society such as the theory on the industrial society, the doctrine on totalitarianism, the conception of evolution and bourgeois nationalism, imperialist ideologues have done what they could in the last 1 1/2 decades to attack socialist society's political organization as a whole and undermine the political power of the workers class by supporting and "justifying" active anticommunist policy with suggestions for "improvement," "liberalization," "democratization" or "pluralization." Without resorting to hyperbole, it may be said today, that they have formulated their anticommunist alternatives for all the issues raised, without exception, in Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. The gist has been as follows:

1. With the theory on the "industrial society," of a "subjectivistic" leadership claim by the party, they mean to deny and distort the inevitabilities rooted in society's socioeconomic processes and the historic working class mission derived

from them, on which is based the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party as the core of socialist society's political organization. They deny the legitimacy of the Marxist-Leninist party's leadership role.

2. With their theory on elites and conflicts, originally the trotskyite thesis of "socialist bureaucracy" and the "innovation" conception, directed against the party, the social foundations of socialist society and their historic dynamics are being falsified.

3. The dialectics of the exercise of power, management and revolutionary organization, marking the essence and functioning of socialist society's political organization, is being reduced, in conformity with an imperialist understanding of it, to the thesis of the "party's power monopoly" that is "securing" its "domination." This most severely misrepresents and defames the purpose of socialism, the nature of socialist democracy, and the content of the socialist way of life.

4. The thesis of the "heteronomous" character of the working class party most sharply expresses the anti-Sovietism of all political anticommunist conceptions. It constitutes an up-to-date summary of all theses directed against socialist internationalism in their historic development, from the "satellite" theory via the "Asiatic character of bolshevism" to the "Brezhnev Doctrine."

5. The theses of the party's "deficit in legitimacy," its "heteronomous" character, and that of "party supremacy" mainly attack the unity of the party with the people in the GDR and the uniformity of socialist society's political organization. These theses are the direct points of departure and pickup points for the "improvement" recommendations from the imperialist ideological enemies of real socialism.

6. The thesis on the "continuity break" in the history of the SED (in particular as of 1948) mainly serves the effort to restore the situation the class forces were in at the time of the antifascist-democratic transformation as a target for "democratizing" the GDR. This is to create the kind of political conditions where the question of "Who to Whom" can be asked anew and be answered in favor of imperialism.

So one can see that all these ideological attacks are in their final consequence aimed at the elimination of the leadership role of the working class party, whereby they pursue the counterrevolutionary goal to destroy the socialist social relations by weakening and paralyzing the strength of the Marxist-Leninist party. All attacks against the trade unions in socialism, the socialist youth association, and the women's organization in the GDR are designed to give oppositional groups, "non-conformist to the system," the opportunity to organize and become articulate because that alone, presumably, makes "true" democracy feasible. The identical goal is ultimately pursued also by the orientation contained in the "innovation" conception toward mobilizing so-called nonpolitical population groups as anti-socialist opposition.

One should not underrate how dangerous, ideologically and politically, such attacks on political power in socialism are, particularly under the conditions of imperialism's sharpened confrontation course in world politics. Socialist society's stable political organization and its high authority and functioning capacity are the indispensable premise and prerequisite for securing what has been achieved and for successful advances in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. An inviolable working class power guarantees that all imperialist attacks upon socialism's political organization will founder, in whatever garb and partial tactical objective they may be launched in any given concrete historic situation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. L. I. Brezhnev, "CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Berlin, 1981, p 106.
2. Cf. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Berlin, 1981, pp 92 and 150.
3. B. A. Cagin, "Der subjektive Faktor. Struktur und Gesetzmässigkeiten" (The Subjective Factor--Structure and Inevitabilities), Berlin, 1974, p 48.
4. U.-J. Heuer, "Gesellschaftliche Gesetze und politische Organisation" (Social Laws and Political Organization), Berlin, 1974, p 146.
5. Reports on the state of the discussion are found in H. M. Karle and V. M. Stukin, "On the Concept 'Socialist Society's Political System' and on the Role of the Work Collectives in Socialism's Political System--in Soviet Literature," WISSENSCHAFTLICHER KOMMUNISMUS, INFORMATIONSBULLETIN, Nos 2 and 3, 1980; R. Pfretzschner, "Socialism's Political System--Socialist Society's Political Organization--On the State of the Discussion," WISSENSCHAFTLICHER KOMMUNISMUS, INFORMATIONSBULLETIN, No 3, 1980, pp 30 ff; cf. also N. I. Asarov, W. U. Wartschuk and E. M. Penkow, "The Political Organization of Society," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT, GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, No 5, 1973.
6. That also conforms with the practice of the textbook, "Wissenschaftlicher Kommunismus" (Scientific Communism) since its third revised edition of 1978, p 283, and with the synonymous use made of the concepts in the 10th SED Congress documents; cf. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., pp 92 and 150.
7. The following statements are based mainly on Soviet and GDR publications as cited by Karle and Stukin and by Pfretzschner. Use had been made also of "Nauchni Kommunisme Slovar," Moscow, 1975; Editorial board, directed by N. P. Farberow, ed. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie des Staates und des Rechts" (Marxist-Leninist General Political and Law Theory), Berlin, 1975; I. Ilyinskiy, "VLKSM v Politicheskoe Sisteme Sovetskogo Obshchestva," Moscow, 1981.
8. Cf. V. Y. Gidirinski, "XXV sezid KPSS o Dalneishem Sovershenstvovani Politicheskoe Sistemy Sozialisticheskogo Obshchestva," NAUCHNI KOMMUNISME, No 2, 1977, pp 47 ff.

9. For the concept of "political culture," cf. J. A. Tichomirow, "Political Culture in the Society of Mature Socialism," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT, GESELLSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE BEITRAEGE, No 11, 1978, pp 1121 ff.
10. V. I. Lenin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," "Werke" (Works), Vol 7, Berlin, 1956, pp 419 f.
11. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 116.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Cf. R. Dau, "Problems of the History of the GDR Socialist Society's Political Organization," STAAT UND RECHT, No 1, 1979.
15. For the concept of "political organization of society" and its uniformity and contradictoriness under the conditions of class antagonism and exploitation, see V. I. Razin, "Politicheskaya Organisatsiya Obshchestva kak Kategoriya Istoricheskogo Materialisma," Moscow, 1972.
16. "Geschichte der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands--Abriss," Berlin, 1978, p 440.
17. Authors' Collective under R. Badstuebner, "Geschichte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik," Berlin, 1981, p 240.
18. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Berlin, 1976, p 19.
19. E. Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Berlin, 1976, p 110.
20. V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," "Werke," Vol 29, Berlin, 1961, pp 408 f.
21. V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and Benegade Kautsky," "Werke," Vol 28, Berlin, 1959, p 247.
22. "Programm . . .," op. cit., pp 19 f.
23. H. Friedrich and G. Grosser, "On Some Methodological Prerequisites for Exploring the Objective Laws of Political Relations," DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, No 11, 1976, pp 1349 f.
24. Cf. Authors' Collective under P. N. Fedoseyev, "Sozialismus--Theorie und Praxis," Berlin, 1977, p 254.
25. Ibid., p 255.
26. Ibid.
27. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 130.

28. Cf. editorial committee under N. P. Farberow, W. Weichelt et al, "Demokratie--Entwicklungsgesetz des sozialistischen Staates" (Democracy--Developmental Law of the Socialist State), Berlin, 1981, pp 106 f.
29. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 116.
30. "Marxistisch-leninistische allgemeine Theorie des Staates und des Rechts," op. cit., Vol 3, p 198.
31. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 116.
32. Cf. D. Chitralla, R. Dau and R. Mittag, "The Work Collective as an Integral Part of the Socialist Society's Political Organization," STAAT UND RECHT, No 10, 1980, pp 894 ff.
33. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., p 48.
34. G. Soeder, "Freedom, Democracy and Human Dignity in Socialism," EINHEIT, Nos 5-6, 1976, p 554.
35. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," op. cit., pp 51 f.

Historical Perspective

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 28 No 1, Jan 79 (signed to press 27 Nov 78) pp 44-52

['Discussion' feature article by Prof Dr Rudolf Dau, Karl Liebknecht Pedagogical College, Potsdam: "Problems of the History of the GDR Socialist Society's Political Organization"]

[Text] The Ninth SED Congress termed the continued shaping of the political organization of the developed socialist society a central, overall social requirement in which all socially and politically organized citizens take part.¹ In steadily molding the leadership role of the party, which is "in all domains of public life an essential prerequisite for conditions maturing into the gradual transition to the construction of communist society," it does mainly amount to a "further all-round consolidation of the socialist workers and farmers state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, representing the interests of the entire GDR people." The main developmental trend of the socialist state and of all of society's political organization is "the further spreading and perfecting of socialist democracy."²

As our party sees it, in the early 1960's, when the period of transition from capitalism to socialism came to an end in the GDR, socialism's political organization also had been "formed completely," which has made ever more evident since then "the historic superiority of socialist society's political organization and socialist democracy to capitalist society's political organization and manipulated bourgeois democracy."³ The recently published SED history outline puts it similarly in saying that socialist society's political organization was by and large set in the early 1960's.⁴

The assumption must be that socialist society's political organization has a genesis and evolution of its own and has to be regarded as being in existence and being effective from the very moment that socialism began to develop on its own foundations.⁵ Indeed, most Marxist social scientists start from that proposition.⁶

By socialist society's political organization we mean the totality of the state-political and sociopolitical facilities, institutions, organizations and movements and their interconnections. Socialist society's political organization brings the working class power to realization. The dialectical unity between the working people's revolutionary organization, the exercise of political power, and scientific management, embodied and realized in toto by socialist society's political organization, is denoted by the concept of organization both in structural-substantive and in functional-genetic terms.⁷ A. K. Belych has proven that the concept of organization in Marxism-Leninism "is used not only in the sense of concrete organizations (collectives of people) but also in the sense of a system of social relations."⁸ Socialist society's political organization hence must be understood in the sense of a certain order of the concrete political organizations, of an activity of such organizations in a specific sphere of public life, in there being a goal for their activities and there being organs that affect such affairs through their leadership functions, as well as in the sense of the essence of the political subjects in socialist society, their functioning in conjunction, and the forms and methods and development (ripening) of their cooperation. In the latter sense, socialist society's political organization then also includes the content and methods for implementing the interests of the workers class and the classes and strata allied with it, the procedures and methods for making the political power of the workers class effective, as it typifies socialist democracy, the character of relations evolving among the classes in seizing and consolidating socialist state power, the social maturation stages in involving the working masses in the organized exercise of power and the running of society, the materialization of the working people's rights and freedoms, the socialist political and legal order, and the interactions among the society, the state, the collectives and socialist personalities.⁹

Any examination of socialist society's political organization "from a logical vantage point demands an analysis of its actual prehistory, its history and its developed status, proceeding, methodologically, from the unity between history and logic."¹⁰ An exploration of the history of socialist society's political organization informs about the continuity and interactions among economic, social and political relations and makes possible a deeper penetration into its nature and functioning mode, the qualitative changes of its components and the relations among those components. So one can understand its nature only, if the following two aspects are taken into consideration in their unity and elaborated on, on a priority basis:

(a) The complexity of socialist society's political organization in its internal order and in the variety and purpose-orientation in the relations of its components, the economic conditioning of socialist society's political organization as the core of its political superstructure and, simultaneously, the relative independence of politics and the active effect of political organization on economic and social relations in socialism.

(b) The historic dynamics of socialist society's political organization, most closely linked with the genesis, development and ripening of communist society, and the dialectics between the development of socialism's political organization in practice and the development of political consciousness.

The history thus far of socialist society's political organization in the GDR, the developmental stage it reached by the end of the 1970's, and the perspective indicated for it by the Ninth SED Congress express the close connection between these two aspects. The whole history of the revolutionary, organized German workers movement and the history of the working people's anti-imperialist, later anti-fascist, alliance up to 1945, forged by the workers class, can be regarded as the prehistory of socialist society's political organization in the GDR. This, it seems to me, is corroborated in the first chapter of the "SED History Outline."

Through decades of changeable class struggles, the revolutionary German workers class, thanks to the towering historic achievement by Marx and Engels, and under the direct influence from Lenin and the Comintern, created its Marxist-Leninist party in the form of the KPD which, after Hitler fascism was crushed, turned out to be a completely new type of political organization of society. As the best organized and most conscious vanguard of the German workers class, constructed on the principles of democratic centralism and furnished with Lenin's ideas, the KPD in the 1920's created a system of revolutionary social organizations (trade union, women's, youth and children's organizations), organized a political alliance of antifascist working people in the form of antifascist action, and headed the Free Germany National Committee. At the Brussels and Bern conferences, in the organs of the Free Germany National Committee, and especially in its 11 June 1945 appeal, the KPD, with its program on destroying German fascism, prepared the plan for eliminating capitalist society's political organization in Germany and, with its state-political ideas for establishing an antifascist German democratic republic, an entirely new type of political organization of society. The German workers class had appropriated the Leninist doctrine that the proletariat "has no other weapon in the struggle for power but organization."¹¹

In terms of the history of socialist society's political organization in the GDR, the period of the antifascist-democratic transformation from 1945 to 1949 may be seen as the period that immediately preceded it. Led by the politically united workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the SED, there was established at that time on the soil of the GDR, encouraged by the Soviet Military Administration in Germany, to begin with, the antifascist-democratic state as the main link of a new political organization of society, which on the whole more and more exercised the function of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and farmers. In implementation of the Potsdam Agreement, the antifascist forces, while abolishing the fascist state and the Nazi party and its formations and uprooting fascist law and Nazi ideology, also created the people's new power organs. The governmental administrative organs in the communities, cities, kreises, laender and provinces, formed as early as 1945 with help from the Soviet Military Administration, soon demonstrated their ability to take care of the interests of the working people in the exercise of power and of enforcing the new law and managing public affairs. In the outcome of the elections for the communal assemblies and kreis and provincial diets in September and October 1946, the first antifascist-democratic people's representations originated which, under

SED leadership, gradually turned into corporate bodies functioning in the Leninist sense. In close unity and interaction with the construction of state-political organizations, the formation of sociopolitical ones followed.

Society's political organization as an instrument of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and farmers matured and developed particularly through the process in which it created its own economic foundations. Mainly the implementation of the democratic land reform, the expropriation of the war and Nazi criminals and the conversion of expropriated enterprises into public property left the reactionary forces no ground to stand on and formed that new economic basis of society which formed the foundation for the rapid consolidation of the class alliance led by the workers class and its party, heightening the development of society's new political organization.

With the founding of the GDR in October 1949, socialist society's political organization began to evolve in our country. Already to a large extent prepared under working class hegemony in economic, social, political and cultural-ideological terms under the conditions of the antifascist-democratic transformation, all of socialist society's political organization, with the SED its leading core and the socialist state its main link, now came to serve more and more as the instrument for putting the dictatorship of the proletariat into effect. Working class power, organized in the state-political and sociopolitical sense, became the primary basis of socialism, decisive for all the subsequent shaping of socialism.

Under SED leadership, which had itself further developed because of the higher requirements in the transition to the construction of the foundations of socialism, at that time the "process of the formation of state power of the type of the dictatorship of the proletariat by and large found its conclusion."¹² The Democratic Bloc parties, particularly the CDU and the LDPD, had taken decisive steps to clarify their positions alongside the workers class,¹³ the National Front of democratic Germany had formed, and the social organizations, as e.g. the FDGB at its third congress (30 August to 3 September 1950),¹⁴ had proclaimed the socialist order their goal. Subsequently, socialist society's political organization developed as an instrument of the workers class and its allies for materializing the power of the workers class, the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this, under the conditions of a constantly perfected socialist revolutionary organization, the process of the political exercise of power asserted itself more and more through the management of society's material processes.

When the phase that constructed the foundations of socialism in the GDR ended, the growing leadership role of the workers class had come to prevail completely, the process that formed the class of the cooperative farmers came to an end, segments of private craftsmen had formed the stratum of the cooperative craftsmen, segments of private tradesmen and enterprises had started working on commission or had become partly state-owned respectively, and a new, socialist intelligentsia had grown up. To the extent that the highly differentiated class and social structure of 1949, in interaction with the continually higher degree of maturity in the economic base of socialist society, and in conformity of the goal of a new, socialist class and social structure, changed, the leadership role of the workers class was recognized and its interests became identical with the basic

interests of the other classes and strata. On this basis, it became possible to involve increasingly more all classes and strata in the exercise of political power and the management of society, which in fact was necessary for the further development of socialist society. An expression of it in the phase when the foundations of socialism were laid was the process that evolved and developed socialist democracy as a form and substance of socialist society's political organization, which simultaneously reflected the further development of the essence of political organization, i.e. the qualitatively more mature features of the unity of political organization, exercise of power, and management.

Socialist society's political organization thus evolved through extending society's political organization as it emerged between 1945 and 1949 under the conditions of the anti-imperialist-democratic transformation in the years between 1949 and the early 1960's, the phase when the foundations of socialism were laid in the GDR, in close interaction with the economic and class basis of society. At the end of that phase, "socialist society's political organization essentially was set."¹⁵

With the transition to the all-inclusive construction of socialism (Sixth SED Congress, 1963) and the start of the shaping of developed socialism in the GDR (Eighth SED Congress, 1971), a new developmental phase also began for socialist society's political organization. Its basic tendencies and requirements were set down in the Party Program as adopted by the ninth party congress. The assumption there is that "the shaping of the developed socialist society is a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes."¹⁶ On the basis of an undivided supremacy of socialist production relations and of the friendly cooperation and beginning rapprochement among the classes, socialist society's political organization became constantly more perfect, being at the same time a multifaceted yet uniform social total subject¹⁷ producing the material-technical base and production relations of developed socialism, the further development of the socialist political and legal order, the extension and protection of socialist achievements, and the deepening of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community of states.

The process of the shaping of developed socialism in the GDR made more pronounced than ever the characteristic features of socialism's political organization, which went through all its phases but only now fully come into their own. Such characteristic features are:

1. Socialist society's political organization is from the outset a new type of political organization. It is decisively marked by the constantly growing leadership role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party. As to its new socioeconomic foundations, its substance and objective, its dynamics and perspective, and its principles and functioning mode, it differs fundamentally and ever more apparently from all previous types of political organization of society, being historically superior to them.
2. It becomes ever more apparent that man is the focal point of socialist society's political organization. He is the most important criterion for the development of democracy. "Socialist society needs the constantly developing personality, whose general educational and political levels rise steadily."¹⁸

3. The increasing uniformity of socialist society's political organization is due to the dialectical interaction, typical of socialism, between a dynamically developing economic and social base on the one side and the growing role of the political superstructure, on the other. The undivided supremacy of socialist production relations that evolves becomes the basis for a progressive socialization of production and labor and, hence, for the rapprochement among the classes and social strata.

4. With the historic advances in the process of the construction of socialism, the organization and purposefulness of socialist society's political organization keep increasing--while political relations assume a greater variety. The role of the Marxist-Leninist party increases, it being the core of socialist society's political organization, which elaborates the social conception and leads in enforcing it, coordinates all political activities in socialist society, which also further develops socialist democracy, as the awareness of the masses grows. Growing importance also attaches to the socialist state, the main link in socialist society's political organization, in view of the rapidly increasing economic dimensions and its greater tasks in enforcing socialist legality and in assuming its cultural-educational and foreign policy functions. It also enhances the role of the social organizations and work collectives as components of socialist society's political organization.

5. In contrast to all other types of political organization of society, which primarily exercise suppressive and exploitative functions, the higher, socialist type of society's political organization realizes mainly "creative functions pertaining to the management of the economic, social and cultural construction of a new society, first socialism and then complete communism."¹⁹ As historic experience in the development of real socialism has also demonstrated in the GDR, the function of socialism's political organization in the protection from attacks by domestic and foreign reaction must never be underrated. With socialist production and class relations becoming fully mature and antagonisms disappearing, however, political power loses the character of being "organized coercion by one class suppressing another."²⁰ Political power "in socialism assumes the character of leadership for the society by the workers class."²¹ Accordingly, power does not separate the members of society, but "we rule by uniting all working people by means of the unbreakable chains of their vital interests, their class consciousness."²² The dynamic reality of power in socialism "materializes chiefly through the management of many social affairs."²³

6. Socialist society's political organization more and more determines the substance, dynamics and functioning mode of socialist democracy. The new, socio-economic foundations of socialist society make possible and require that higher type of social labor organization that finds its most striking expression in planned and organized production, in the scientific management of all production processes on behalf of the members of society, and in the utilization of the accomplishments of scientific-technical progress for the benefit of all. Chiefly through the work collectives' efforts toward rapid production boosts and ever better satisfying the people's material and cultural needs, toward creative activities in production and in the management of public affairs, that type of the new, socialist democracy is brought about which significantly affects the formation and development of socialist personalities and shapes the socialist way of life. For the first time, the freedom of personality and a real guarantee of human rights are made to prevail all throughout society.

7. An important condition and, at once, the result of a successful functioning and further development of socialist society's political organization is the steady growth of social consciousness, the heightening of the population's political culture.²⁴ "That presupposes that every citizen shows deep understanding not only for his rights and freedoms, but also for his duties and responsibility to the society and the state by making them his own."²⁵

8. In constantly further developing and becoming more perfect, through dialectical interaction with its socioeconomic base, socialist society's political organization also greatly contributes to molding the socialist character of the family, the people, the nation, and the international relations.

This survey of the problems in the history of socialist society's political organization in the GDR by no means resolves all questions. Extensive research is required to say things that are more definite about the further extension, the functions and structure of socialist society's political organization in its unity of logic and history. It also becomes obvious that this is a requirement international in dimension. A theory on socialist society's political organization cannot be confined to the experiences of only one country; it is conceivable only within the unity of universal inevitabilities, effective in all socialist countries, and of specific phenomena which in each country express the effects and concrete forms of the universal inevitabilities.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Berlin, 1976, pp 40 f.
2. Ibid., pp 65 and 40 f.
3. Cf. K. Hafer, "Der IX. Parteitag und die Gesellschaftswissenschaften" (The Ninth Party Congress and the Social Sciences), Berlin, 1976, pp 11 and 45.
4. Cf. "Geschichte der SED, Abriss," Berlin, 1978, p 440.
5. As to Marxist social scientists who hold a different view, cf., e.g., Y. A. Tikhomirov, "Socialism and Political Power," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT (GB), 1979, p 920, and "Some Questions on the Development of Socialism's Political System," Ibid., 1976 pp 958 ff; A. K. Belych, "Organisation, Politik und Leitung" (Organization, Politics and Management), Berlin, 1969, especially p 105.
6. Cf. e.g. B. N. Topornin, "Das politische System des Sozialismus" (The Political System of Socialism), Berlin, 1974, pp 47 ff; "Die politische Organisation der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (The Political Organization of Socialist Society), Berlin, 1972, p 37; "Marxist-Leninist General Political and Law Theory," Vol 3, Berlin, 1975, p 83; "Scientific Communism Dictionary" (in Russian), Moscow, 1975, p 266.
7. In Soviet and GDR literature one finds both, an identification between "political organization" and "political system" (Y. A. Tikhomirov, "Some Questions . . .," op. cit., p 959; U.-J. Heuer, "Gesellschaftliche Gesetze und politische Organisation" [Social Laws and Political Organization], Berlin,

1974, p 132) and a clear differentiation between the two concepts (O. T. Bogomolov, THEORETISCHE INFORMATION UND DOKUMENTATION, Akademie fuer Gesellschaftswissenschaften beim ZK der SED, 5th series B, p 44; V. I. Gidirinskiy, NAUCHNIY KOMMUNISM, 1977, No 2, p 48) and even a reduction of "political organization" to its structural-substantive aspects ("Wissenschaftlicher Kommunismus, Textbuch" [Scientific Communist Textbook], Berlin, 1974, pp 425 ff.).

8. A. K. Belych, op. cit., pp 122 ff.
9. Cf. also V. I. Gidirinskiy, op. cit., p 49.
10. D. A. Kerimov and G. V. Maltsev, "Democracy and the Political System of Socialist Society," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT (GB), 1977, p 1244.
11. V. I. Lenin, "Werke" (Works), Vol 7, Berlin, 1956, pp 419 f.
12. "Geschichte der SED," op. cit., p 245.
13. Ibid., p 280.
14. Ibid., p 250.
15. Ibid., p 440.
16. "Programm," loc. cit., p 19.
17. Cf. U.-J. Heuer, op. cit., p 146.
18. D. A. Kerimov and G. V. Maltsev, op. cit., p 1249.
19. "Marxist-Leninist General Political and Law Theory," loc. cit., pp 82 f.
20. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Werke," Vol 4, Berlin, 1959, p 482.
21. A. K. Belych, op. cit., p 147.
22. V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 26, Berlin, 1961, p 479.
23. "Marxist-Leninist General Political and Law Theory," loc. cit., p 198.
24. Cf. V. Kudryavtsev, "The Political System of Ripe Socialism." PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, 1978, p 116.
25. Ibid.

'Work Collective' Model

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 29 No 10, Oct 80 (signed to press 27 Aug 80) pp 894-904

[Article by Prof Dr Rudolf Dau, rector; Dr Dieter Chitralla and Dr Reinhard Mittag, faculty members, Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander Pedagogical College, Dresden: "The Work Collective as an Integral Part of the Socialist Society's Political Organization]

[Text] The formation and qualitative development of work collectives is an essential part of the process that creates socialist social relations. Whereas the whole mode of capitalist production objectively opposes the formation of cooperative production collectives because the producers, "as cooperators, as members of a working organism, are themselves only a specific mode of capital existence,"¹ the working people's division-of-labor cooperation in socialism's social reproduction process facilitates and determines their being formed into work collectives. The public ownership in the means of production conditions the free and creative work of the working people and the spreading of genuine collectivity, comradely cooperation and mutual aid. The work collective becomes a "relatively independent cell of society and, at once, an integral part inseparable from it, constituting an organized and legally defined association of free and equal working people created for the purpose of producing material and intellectual goods, and taking shape, and exercising its function, on the material basis of state or social institutions, facilities or organizations."² When the foundations of socialism are in place, in the phase of the shaping and perfecting of the developed socialist society, the work collective constitutes the typical form of the working people's labor cooperation for socialist industrial production and agricultural large-scale production and for jointly coping with tasks in other, even nonproductive, areas as well.

In the further shaping of the developed socialist society, the work collectives gain increasing importance in many domains of public life due to the rapid development of the productive forces, the steady improvements in socialist production relations, and the shaping of the socialist way of life. Combined into work collectives, the working people accomplish the increasing identity of their social, collective and personal interests in the crucial field--that of social production. Through their coping with any requirements the work collective has, social requirements of the working people are translated directly into concrete activities by which they affect the shaping of socialist society. And so the work collectives increasingly turn into a social organism providing the decisive makeup to socialist relations developing in the production field and beyond. The working people's field of activities broadens and transcends the scope of the production processes proper. Constantly encouraged and challenged by their collectives, the working people are fulfilling more and more tasks, mainly in exercise of their functions as owners of the means of production and controllers of the production processes. They exercise an influence on production management, planning and organization and on the economic and scientific-technical production preparation. That also includes training, the improvements for the working culture, the enhancement of order and safety, and other processes.

The qualitative growth of the workers class and the gradual rapprochement among the classes and strata taking place under Marxist-Leninist party leadership cannot be separated from the personality development in the work collectives. Especially in the collectives of material production it can be seen how closely linked socialist personality development is with the qualitative growth of the workers class and its assuming its growing leadership role in socialist society.

A socialist attitude toward work, socialist labor discipline and a high sense of responsibility are becoming more and more the crucial mental substratum for the development and efficacy of the work collectives. Essential prerequisites are

created in the work collectives for reducing the still existing essential differences between physical and mental work. The work collective is that basic cell of society "in which, as in society at large, the process of the incessant rapprochement among the various social groups and of reducing social differentiations is taking place. The materialization of this process is tantamount to perfecting the collective's social structure. That is why economic interhuman relations do not fully take care of the relations within the collective."⁴

In close dialectical interaction with the growing economic and social role of the work collectives, their role as the subject of politics in socialism also becomes more pronounced. Based on a pronounced proprietary awareness, the working people's broad spread of social activity, and a high sense of social responsibility, they give, at an increasingly higher level, life to the slogan, "Plan with us! Work with us! Govern with us!" It makes more and more working people aware of the great opportunities offered to the work collective for implementing working class power and scientifically managing public affairs. So the work collective in socialism, along with its, originally, economic and its social function, also assumes a political one, aimed at forming the working people's political awareness based on the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the development of socialist democracy, and the public activities of the members of the collective.⁵

The working people are increasingly using the extensive opportunities the work collectives have to contribute by the specific means at their disposal to the fulfillment of collective and overall social tasks. As the work collectives--with regard to their position within the economic structure of society--as collectives of proprietors and producers with political means, as subjects of politics, help shape the economic, ideological, cultural and political relations according to plan and consciously, they are an integral part of socialist society's political organization and, hence, of the superstructure of society as such.

In connection with the debate on the Soviet Constitution, the CPSU took into account the trend toward an ever stronger development of the work collectives' political function in proposing to include a section about work collectives in the chapter on socialism's political system. That is why L. I. Brezhnev underscored at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR: "Several thousand suggestions concerned the article on the role and importance of the work collectives. The work collective, the activity of its party, trade union and consomol organization, reflects the whole life of society: the economic, the political and the intellectual life. It actually is the basic cell of our whole organism, not only the economic one, but the political one as well. That supports those who think that the article on the work collective be best inserted in chapter 1 of the Constitution, which deals with our political system."⁶

As to the inseparable unity of the work collectives' economic, social and political functions, the Soviet Constitution emphasizes in its Article 8: "The work collectives take part in the debate and decisions of state and social affairs, in production planning and social development, in cadre training and assignment, in deliberating on and deciding matters of enterprise and facility management,

in improving the working and living conditions, and in allocating the means set aside for production development, social and cultural measures, and material incentives. The work collectives develop socialist emulation, help disseminate progressive working methods and solidify work discipline, educate their members in the spirit of communist morality and see to heightening their political awareness, cultural level and vocational qualifications."⁷

Social science literature still uses the concept of work collectives in more than one sense. Two basic meanings are found: first, the work collective is conceived as a large economic-organizational unit, mainly in the sense of an enterprise collective or even a combine collective, which itself is still subdivided into separate units. Secondly, the concept of work collective denotes the smallest structural unit of an enterprise, an institution or a facility.⁸ The conceptual determination of both meanings is reflected by the use of the following paired concepts: work collective in the broader sense--work collective in the narrower sense; work collective--immediate work collective; enterprise collective--immediate work collective; basic collective--primary collective.⁹

While such methodological differentiation among work collectives of various levels may certainly be apt for examining certain questions, all authors nonetheless agree that there can be no rigid separation or even contrast among work collectives of diverse structural or magnitudinal units. In the final analysis, "each collective is part of a larger collective, which in turn again belongs to a still larger collective. A work brigade is part of a plant department, it in turn is part of the entire plant collective, and so forth."¹⁰

For our requirement to define and describe the work collective as an integral part of socialist society's political organization, we mainly address the level of the work collective on which the workers directly cooperate and communicate, either permanently (brigades, departments, research collectives, science areas and so forth) or temporarily (innovator collectives, rationalizers collective, training collectives, and so forth), where everyone knows everybody else, where the productive, personality-promoting and formative social function is exercised directly in a unified manner, where the work collective under a management purposefully copes with common targets and also forms, organizationally, a firm unit that can no longer be subdivided into smaller units.¹¹ Every working person belongs to such a "community of working people within the structural unit of an enterprise or an area which is aimed deliberately at achieving high labor results, developing comradely cooperation and mutual aid, and an all-round promotion of it . . . personalities."¹² The political function of the work collectives ~~mainly~~ at this level, it seems to us, has grown in importance recently, wherefore it has attracted the attention of many social scientists. In years ahead it will doubtless be an important task as well for various science disciplines to devote themselves to a theoretical and empirical investigation of this subject matter.

The work collectives constitute an extremely complex and complicated social organism. Their political character, function and role, as an overall social phenomenon, took and takes shape in two different ways. For one thing, the work

collective is the operations base for essential components of socialist society's political organization itself, a "live micromodel of the entire political system."¹³ At the same time, and increasingly so, the work collective asserts itself as an independent component of socialist society's political organization, as a subject of political relations in its own right, in that it takes a direct part in the management of state and public affairs.¹⁴

As the operations base for essential components of socialist society's political organization, e.g. of the party, the trade union or the youth association, which form and develop the work collectives, one must chiefly emphasize the work collectives' positions as objects. The solution of all collective tasks and the development of the collective and its members are subject to the leadership by the working class party and to the target-directed influence by state management, the trade union, the youth organization and other social organizations of the working people. In this process, the implementation of the unity of politics, ideology and economics has special importance. State-political and sociopolitical organizations and institutions form and align the work collective so it will achieve its goals. They bring an influence to bear on the development of the work collective and use it as an instrument for the all-round strengthening of the political power of the workers class and for the management of public affairs.

Here the party has the job to enforce its leadership role; exercising it over all of society, it must do so also within the framework of the work collective. The party organizations in the work collectives see to it that the central party and state directives are applied, coordinate the activities of the state and social structural units in the collective, have a crucial share in solving manpower problems, and exercise the right of supervision vis-a-vis state management.¹⁵

The SED Program has demanded that the "political-ideological activity be concentrated more on developing the educational capacities of the work collectives, to give effective shape to the characteristics of socialist personalities."¹⁶ Social organizations also are coming up with ever better results in this. Through the work of the social organizations, under party leadership, mainly the trade union and the youth organization, the creative capacities and potentials are being released in the work collectives and concentrated on targets that conform with the interests of the working people and the tasks for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society.

On the whole, the process of perfecting and ripening socialist society's political organization and that of the further development of socialist democracy have decisively contributed through all phases of socialist construction to giving more effective shape, more and more evidently, to the work collectives' political character and function.

In close dialectical connection with the "politization" of the work collectives as operations base for essential components of socialist society's political organization stand the development and elevation of the work collectives' subject role in their outer-directed function in the management of public affairs. On the one side, thanks to the work of the working class party and the social organizations, more shape is being given in the work collectives to the social awareness of their members, their skills in effectively exercising socialist democracy,

and their socialist personality characteristics. It promotes the desire and develops the ability of all members of the work collective to become politically active in the collective itself and beyond, in the territory or in the overall social framework. On the other hand, the political activity of the members of the collective inside and outside of their work collective greatly helps in developing qualifications within the work collective itself.

Our assumption is that the importance of the work collectives as subjects in the management of public affairs is going to increase in the further shaping of the developed socialist society and in the construction of communism. "A greater role by the collective in management functions marks an important direction in the development of socialist democracy--with socialism's political system growing into the system of communist self-administration."¹⁷ This refers to the work collective's growing political responsibility for solving labor tasks proper and the need, resulting from it, for drawing the entire work collective more into the management of labor tasks, mainly in material production, as well as to the work collective's activity transcending the actual labor process, in the territory or in the overall social framework.

Their increasing political responsibility to solving actual labor tasks, the work collectives primarily exercise within the scope of socialist emulation. The working people's direct participation in socialist emulation expresses their politically active and conscious participation in economic planning and management. Socialist emulation is aimed at improving production quality and efficiency, boosting labor productivity and, with it, improving the working and living conditions. It is an important source for a conscious attitude toward work, for forming socialist personalities, and for the development of a spirit of initiative, of the creative urge and of a sense of responsibility to society. The contest for the title, "collective of socialist work," has become a mass movement among the working people in our country.

An effective form of the work collectives' immediate participation in the management of production processes is the plan debate, where they, with increasing expertise and responsibility, get drawn into the decision-making on planned production quotas, on improving working and living conditions, and on other matters. Both the quantity and quality of this form of democratic activity by the working people have risen lately. More than 80 percent of the working people of all economic areas and of public life took part in the debates elaborating the national economic plans in recent years already.

Another significant form of creative mass initiative and, hence, a new effective form of socialist emulation, are the initiative shifts. Among the work collectives' political activities in the production field itself furthermore are public inspections by the work collectives and their members, permanent production consultations, the participation by work collectives in enforcing and abiding by socialist law, the movement to enforce order, discipline and safety and other matters, which may be referred to by different terms in some other socialist countries.

The political activity of the work collectives and their members by no means is confined to solving immediate production tasks. While the work collectives together with the integral parts of socialist society's political organization that are operating within them, and as the subjects of politics, aim their political activity at the solution of territorial and overall social tasks, their profile as independent integral parts of socialist society's political organization becomes most conspicuous. Our own most recent social development has already given rise to a wealth of vivid examples regarding the growing role of the work collectives as management subjects for social processes outside of their labor activity.

For example, as early as in 1973, with the "Law on the Local People's Representations and Their Organs in the GDR," the need for cooperation between the people's representations and the work collectives was written into law: "The deputies in the local people's representations establish close and permanent ties with the work collectives in the enterprises and the citizens in the residential areas, explain to them the socialist state's policy and the resolutions of the people's representation and its council, and recruit them into taking an active part in the implementation of state tasks."¹⁸ To make, above all, the cooperation between work collectives in socialist large-scale enterprises and the local people's representations more effective, on the initiative of the 11th SED Central Committee plenum, in the communal elections in May 1974, the number of mandates for city-kreis assemblies in cities with more than 40,000 inhabitants, in city-district assemblies and in kreis assemblies was raised, in a differentiated fashion, by from 10 to 25 percent, and the new 4,000 mandates were mainly assigned to production workers. Simultaneously at those elections, nominations of candidates were for the first time discussed directly within the work collective, and so were the questions of the candidate's receiving support from his collective within and outside of the enterprise. Work collective responsibility to the deputies was made explicit in Article 17 of the Election Law of 24 June 1976: "Candidates nominated by the democratic parties and mass organizations should first be checked and proposed by the collectives in which they work."¹⁹

How the work collectives make use of their right to examine the candidates to be nominated, became especially clear in the preparations for the communal elections of 20 May 1979. The outcome of the discussions demonstrated that the vast majority of the candidates had the confidence of their work collective (261,107 candidates); but 859 candidates were not nominated since they did not have the confidence of their work collectives.²⁰ The juridical arrangement and social practice of a direct influence by the work collectives on the people's representations as the supreme state organ for the exercise of power and management by the people indicate the high appreciation for the work collectives' degree of social maturity in their being the subjects of politics.

The territory has in recent years become an important field for the public activity of the work collectives. The perfecting of socialist democracy in the further shaping of the developed socialist society emphatically demanded strengthening the influence of the enterprises and work collectives on public life in towns and communities. Article 4 of the "Law on the Local People's Representations and Their Organs" and Article 5 of the "Decree on the Tasks, Rights and Duties of

the State-owned Enterprises, Combines and Associations of State-owned Enterprises" set down the relevant legal obligations for the cooperation between the local power organs and the enterprises, combines, cooperatives and facilities not under their authority. This cooperation relates in particular to "matters of political mass activity in the residential areas, the development of working and living conditions, the site distribution for the productive forces, the development of the infrastructure, rational access to territorial resources, the rational use of the labor capacity, and socialist territorial culture, including environmental protection."²¹

In recent years, through territorial rationalization, a complex task has evolved which presupposes a close cooperation between state organs and work collectives. Work collective influence on the territory must not be confined to the cooperation between their management organs and the local councils, or to the activity by the deputies from the work collectives. It is increasingly displayed by the political-ideological efficacy of the work collectives and their representatives within the territory, mainly in the residential areas, particularly in their taking part in the residential party organizations and in the residential area commissions of the National Front. And the work collectives make their appearance in the territory not only in a collective form, i.e. as entire collectives. "The more developed the relations within the work collective are and the more emphatically they affect the personality development, the more the work collective will also influence through its own members the modes of thought and conduct in other public communities and social areas. The working people's democratic activity in the work collective and in the territory must be conceived and developed in unity. An individual is connected via many social relations with a great number of different collectives and groups, on his job, in his family, in his residential area, in his political life, during his leisure-time and so forth.

Another important feature in describing the work collectives as integral parts of socialist society's political organization is the role they play in explaining important domestic policy events. This form of working people participation in the planning and management of social processes becomes most evident in the popular debates on party draft documents and government bills in the most recent history of the countries in the socialist community.

Not last, the political responsibility and activity of the work collectives are increasing in connection with the tasks that have to be resolved in the field of the economic integration of socialist countries and in the proletarian-internationalist solidarity with the workers class in the developed capitalist countries and with the young national states and the national liberation movement. In sum, the increasingly more evident emergence of the political function of the work collectives and their development as subjects of politics in socialism reflect the historic dynamics of socialist society's political organization.

FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol I, K. Marx/F. Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 23, Berlin, 1962, pp 352 f.

2. I. Ilyinskiy, "The Political Organization of Socialist Society" (in Russian), Moscow, 1976, p 199.
3. Cf. F. Adler, H. Jetzschmann and A. Kretzschmar, "Arbeiterklasse und Persönlichkeit im Sozialismus" (Workers Class and Personality in Socialism), Berlin, 1977, p 114.
4. G. J. Gleserman, "Der historische Materialismus und die Entwicklung der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (Historical Materialism and the Development of Socialist Society), Berlin, 1973, p 222.
5. For the problem of structuring the functions of the work collective, cf. P. T. Bugayenko, "The Production Collective as the Sociopolitical Cell of Socialist Society," NAUCHNI KOMMUNIST, 1977, No 1, p 42.
6. "The Soviet People--Creator of Its New Constitution--Report by Leonid Brezhnev before the Meeting of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 October 1977, p 3.
7. "Constitution of the USSR--Adopted at the Seventh Extraordinary Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Ninth Legislative Session, 7 October 1977," (in Russian), Moscow, 1977, p 9.
8. Cf. A. Kahl, "Arbeitskollektiv und Automatisierung in der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft. Eine soziologische Analyse von Arbeitskollektiven in automatisierten Produktionsbereichen der chemischen Industrie" (Work Collective and Automation in the Developed Socialist Society. A Sociological Analysis of Work Collectives in Automated Production Areas in the Chemical Industry), Dissertation B, Leipzig, 1977, p 73.
9. Cf., e.g., in Soviet literature: V. G. Ivanov, "Collective and Personality," Berlin, 1973, p 59, note 83; G. S. Khokhlyuk, "Work Collective, Experiences, Problems, Perspectives. A Sociological Analysis." (in Russian), Khabarovsk, 1976.
10. A. W. Petrowski, "Allgemeine Psychologie" (General Psychology), Berlin, 1977, p 41.
11. Cf. A. Kahl, op. cit., p 73
12. "Woerterbuch der marxistisch-leninistischen Soziologie" (Marxist-Leninist Sociological Lexicon), Berlin, 1977, p 41.
13. Z. A. Yampolskaya, "On the Interaction between State Organs and Social Organizations in Present-day Society," SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT (GB), 1979, No 1, p 38.
14. Cf. A. I. Kiryushin, "The New USSR Constitution and the Heightened Role of the Work Collective in the Management of Society," VESTNIK MOSKOWSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, SERIYA XII: TEORIYA NAUCHNOGO KOMMUNISMA, 1976, No 3. p 37.
15. Cf. P. T. Bugayenko, op. cit., p 46.

16. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Berlin, 1976, p 67.
17. A. I. Kiryushin, op. cit., p 37.
18. GBL, Part I 1973 p 318, Article 16 Section 3.
19. Law on the Elections to the People's Representations in the GDR (Election Law) of 24 June 1976, GBL Part I p 303.
20. Cf. "261,107 Candidates Nominated for the 20 May Election," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 20 April 1979, p 1.
21. Law on the Local People's Representations and Their Organs in the GDR of 12 July 1973, GBL Part I p 315, Article 4.
22. H. Zienert, "Sozialistische Demokratie und Wirtschaftsleitung" (Socialist Democracy and Economic Management), Berlin, 1976, p 41.

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CSO: 2300/230

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BOOK ON POLITICAL CRIMINAL LAW REVIEWED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 3, Mar 82 (signed to press 19 Feb 82) pp 296-299

["Critique of Criminal Law as Historiography"--Review by Karl Wilhelm Fricke, director, East-West Department, Deutschlandfunk, Cologne; of book "Geschichte und Struktur des politischen Strafrechts der DDR bis 1968" (History and Structure of the GDR's Political Criminal Law Up to 1968), by Wolfgang Schuller, jurist, associate professor of history, University of Constance, FRG; published by Rolf Gremer, Ebelsbach, 1980, 487 pages, DM 89.00 (hard cover)]

[Text] Political criminal law as it reflects GDR government and society--that in short is the subject to which the present book by Wolfgang Schuller is devoted. He himself summarizes the purpose of his substantial investigation as "presenting, describing and explaining with reference to the concrete content, form and development of the GDR's political criminal law until 1968, a part of its political and social reality." And this, to say it at once, the author has succeeded in doing in a sound scientific fashion, i.e. convincingly. By documenting the qualitative differences between the text of the law, its interpretation and the practical application of political criminal law, he accounts for the whole range of mandatory political penalties in the SED state and thereby gains significant insights into its governmental practice. A fascinating book!

Its special value is that Schuller far transcends purely legal investigations into the GDR's political criminal law, producing a work which is both a critique of criminal law and historiography. The author here benefited from the fact that he is both a jurist and a historian. First, in 1935, he studied jurisprudence and gained his law degree with a thesis on "Political Criminal Law in the GDR, 1945-1953." Thereafter, he took up the study of history. In 1971, Schuller acquired his teaching credentials for ancient history; for the last 6 years, he has held a professorship in ancient history at the University of Constance. That biographical background should at least partly make plausible the idea of the book of systematically reviewing the political criminal law and its application in the GDR within the context of historic development.

The basis of material on which Schuller relies once again demonstrates how worthwhile persistent search and sifting can be. Along with the relevant law regulations, he has adduced all obtainable western and eastern literature in his subject--his bibliography filling more than 20 printed pages. Furthermore,

he includes more than 600 legal documents, mainly GDR court rulings both published and unpublished, prosecution resolutions, indictments and other decisions, and he has of course also combed through SED decisions and resolutions for pronouncements that were relevant to the subject. Under the possibilities at hand, the material basis could not be broader.

In the first part of his book, the author deals with the norms of political criminal law in effect until 1968, when the new GDR Penal Code came into force. He first analyzed their official interpretation so as to engage in critical textual comparisons and then explore practical applications. Supplementing his investigation of trial procedure, he comes to grips with the material criminal law. In the second part, Schuller formulates what he calls an "explanation" of the results elaborated up to that point in his book. Proceeding from a critique of the sense of identity and of the argumentations in GDR jurisprudence, he decodes the dialectics between politics and law development and concludes with a comparative structural definition of criminal law.

Schuller bases his treatment on time frames, dividing the entire period into the phases of 1945-53, 1953-58, and 1958-68. These three phases do logically represent the legal and juridical development which in the GDR suffered far-reaching caesuras with the new course policy after the 17 June 1953 uprising and then again when the criminal supplementary law went into effect on 1 February 1958, and yet the question may be raised whether a different type of periodicity might not have been more meaningful. After all, the politization and orchestration of criminal law in the GDR but reflect political and social power relations, the development of which was marked by their own historic dates. And that would have suggested a different periodization, one more strongly oriented to the course of history.

One of the most revealing explorations in Schuller's work is his critical confrontation with Article 6 in the first GDR Constitution, the second section of which, as one knows, pronounced the so-called boycott agitation a crime in terms of the penal code. Up to the time that the criminal supplementary law went into effect on 11 December 1957, that constitutional provision was, to GDR jurisprudence, "immediately applicable penal law," even though it was no criminal law "not only due to lack of evidence but also, mainly, due to the lack of a threat of impending penalty." GDR jurisprudence, in Article 6, got a device by which any conduct purportedly or actually critical of the regime, or oppositional or hostile, could be criminalized. With reference to many sentences based on Article 6, Schuller shows the absurd variety of forms in which boycott agitation could be "committed." It could be found in causing disaffection and showing hatred, in diversion and war agitation, treason (Wolfgang Harich and others were sentenced on the basis of Article 6) and organized crime, defection, espionage, terror and much else. Schuller's resume: "Agitation was seen to be any kind of activity committed even by doing nothing, or by actions without comment; boycott was identical with doing harm. Boycott was any conduct regarded as harmful by the regime."

With the example of Article 6 as well as of most other norms of political criminal law, the author demonstrates the flagrant contempt for any elemental principles of the modern administration of criminal justice by GDR jurisprudence--the principle, that is, that no one may be punished unless his act was previously made

punishable under law; and the principle that anyone, until proven guilty, was to be regarded as innocent, the evidence having to come from the state. Both principles have been turned upside-down by GDR jurisprudence. "If the interpretation and application differ from the text of the law, which in turn can only partially be regarded as criminal law, the sentence patently is not pronounced on the basis of a criminal law, but one punishes whatever the state pretends is a criminal act at the time the sentence is due." So says Schuller, who attributes the replacement of the presumption of innocence by the presumption of guilt to that the state, "through its preponderance in the investigative and trial proceedings, through substantially aggravating the difficulties of the defense, (made it happen) that a de facto suspicion of criminal guilt of the indicted and accused required to be refuted by them."

All this may already have been set down in other works, to be sure. But nowhere else have the results of an investigation of these problems been so richly shored up in terms of material and have been so cogently presented as in Schuller's book, whose original approach to it is to be seen in that he derives his insights from a structural analysis of the criminal law itself and, only after those matters are cleared up, asks how all that relates to the theories found binding by GDR jurisprudence on law, on socialist legality or on the party-mindedness of the judicature. Normally, the mode of thinking and procedure goes the other way.

Schuller has no compunction to extend his structural analysis to a comparison of political criminal law in the Third Reich and in the GDR. There is no special pleading for common features and parallels found there, the omnipotent role of the state in proceedings, for instance, "with its consequence of the presumption of guilt, thus Freisler's pronouncement: 'nullum crimen sine poena' or, in Hilde Benjamin's version: 'a crime does not remain unpunished because there seems to be no appropriate law for it.'"

Common features like that disturb as much as the differences Schuller has brought out—the proof, for instance, that political justice in the Third Reich "lacks many features of the fictitious or the cover-up discernible in GDR law: from a much more outspoken language in sentencing down to the fact that Nazi law in peacetime did not fabricate by means of false interpretation but even in that regard was more overtly brutal. Embryonically, that difference is discernible in the two statements quoted of Roland Freisler and Hilde Benjamin." Acrid truths. To have made us again aware of them and given them a scientific substantiation, is one of the advantages of this book.

Only does not come it a decade too late? This would be easy to say, especially in view of the fact that the author omitted the development in the GDR starting with the 12 January 1968 Penal Code, meanwhile amended by three politically relevant supplements. But to squawk that way would be sheer sophistry; it would appear all the less justified inasmuch as Schuller's basic insights certainly allow implications by analogy for the political criminal law of the GDR as of today and at least teach us better to understand its principles and structures.

This analysis, couched in historic terms by the author, provides knowledge highly topical in value, as far as it goes. Jurists and historians dealing with the GDR will find the book is an indispensable reference work, not last on account of its painstakingly prepared index (on laws, sentences, persons and subjects). A significant book, this one by Wolfgang Schuller, a gain for GDR research.

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BRIEFS

CONFERENCE OF PRORECTOR--The national conference of prorectors for student affairs, which took place on 25 March at Warsaw Technical University, was devoted to the resumption of social activity on the part of the student community. The conference was chaired by Jerzy Sablik, deputy minister of science, higher schools and technology; participants included representatives of ministries superintending higher schools, prorectors for student affairs, and representatives of student organizations and of youth organizations which are active in schools. The basic goal of the deliberations was the implementation of decisions, made by the Socio-Political Committee of the Council of Ministers at a 12 March meeting, concerning the resumption of activity on the part of the Socialist Union of Polish Students, student self-governing bodies, and student cultural and scientific sections. [Excerpt] [by A.S.] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Mar 82 p 8]

NEW PEDAGOGICAL SCHOOL RECTOR--At the recommendation of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship National Defense Committee, the minister of science, higher schools and technology has appointed Docent Dr Bronislaw Ratus to the position of rector of the Bydgoszcz Higher Pedagogical School. B. Ratus had previously served i.a. as prorector of the Higher Pedagogical School in Zielona Gora, and most recently was employed at the Institute for Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism in Warsaw. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Apr 82 p 5]

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April 29, 1982